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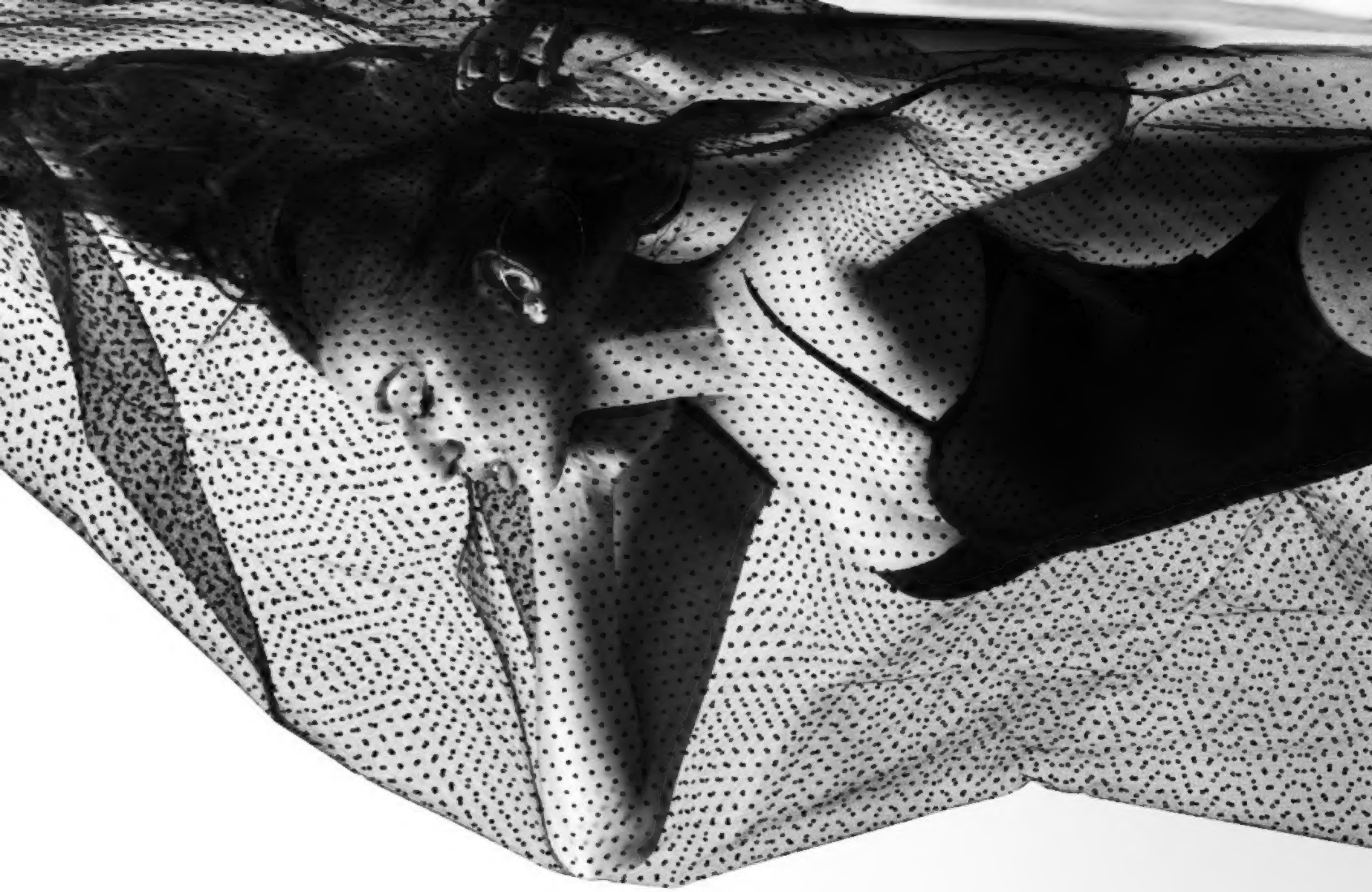

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CONTENTS

06 **MAKE MONEY WITH TECH**
How artists create opportunities

12 **PICTORIAL**
CODY RENEE CAMERON

20 **F*CK JAMS**
Ashnikko's sex-positive music

26 **LINGERIE BUYER'S GUIDE**
And receiving the gift of SEX!

30 **EROTIC CLOTHING**
Let fantasy fuel your sex life!

34 **PHILOSOPHY OF PLEASURE**
Why cigars are awesome!

38 **ON THE COVER**
RENEE JAYNE

48 **HERITAGE**
We revisit the Jan 89 cover

52 **JESSE JACKSON**
Thought leader and vocal activist

66 **PICTORIAL**
JULIANNA LEONE

74 **REV. JACKSON FOR PRESIDENT**
Preacher and 1984 democratic candidate

84 **PICTORIAL**
LEAH SPEAKE

92 **SEXUAL FETISHES**
Learn more dirty lingo

ON THE COVER
RENEE JAYNE
Photography by Rocky Batchelor
No 48 | **December 2021**

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Can Musicians Still Strike Gold During a Global Pandemic?

The coronavirus pandemic hit the music industry hard in 2020, but amid the hustle to stay afloat there's a glimmer of opportunity for media-savvy artists

BY **JEFF GAGE** ILLUSTRATION BY **JULIETTE TOMA**

Cookiee Kawaii had never used TikTok before her song "Vibe (If I Back It Up)" went viral in February 2020. The New Jersey rapper and singer was working as an exotic dancer when a friend began sending her screenshots of videos set to her song that people were posting on TikTok. Kawaii downloaded the app and was stunned by how many TikToks used "Vibe." "It was literally taking on a life of its own before I could even get a hold of it," Kawaii says.

"Vibe," an 83-second burst of murky R&B and trap beats, was released in the summer of 2019, so Kawaii had no idea why it took off so many months later. She jumped into the comments of the TikTok videos, identifying herself as the artist behind the song and thanking the creators for using it. Soon the 27-year-old was booked to make her first appearance at South by Southwest—one of the largest music festivals in North America. It seemed that 2020 would be Kawaii's breakout year.

Enter the coronavirus. South by Southwest was canceled at the beginning of March and, in the weeks that followed, virtually every major festival and music venue around the world shut down, a growing number of them doing so permanently. The music industry has teetered on the brink of collapse ever since, with artists unable to tour, release schedules left in limbo and no clear sign of when those situations will change.

The pandemic, however, did little to slow down "Vibe's" momentum. There are now 1.6 million videos listed for it on TikTok, where Kawaii has leapt to 1.1 million followers, and the song—in its various incarnations, including a remix featuring Tyga that was released in August—has more than 75 million plays on Spotify. Kawaii has since signed a deal with Empire Management, hired a legal team and begun locking down her copyrights. She's been featured in Rolling Stone and interviewed by XXL and The Fader, was featured on a Spotify playlist by Beyoncé and recently did a photo shoot with Vogue.

With touring plans still on hold, Kawaii spends a good part of her days online, engaging with fans. TikTok is where her audience first found her and where it remains, for now. "They're going to remember that engagement, that time I was there and just being super nice," she says. "And that's gonna make them want to buy tickets."

This kind of phenomenon isn't unprecedented or uncommon. TikTok has been an explosive force for musicians ever since Lil Nas X's "Old Town Road" began its record-smashing run there in early 2019. Although musicians can't make money directly through the app, its influence and viral capability can be pure gold. And as the pandemic and shifting consumer habits have contributed to the decline of the industry's few remaining traditional sources of income, musicians have turned to the influence of other online platforms to try to make ends meet. While artists once played live for ticket and merch sales, they now scrabble together what they can through livestreamed equivalents on sites like Twitch and Patreon, which offer ways for hardcore fans to support artists with tips or subscriptions. For musicians with sufficiently large fanbases, there are potential advertising dollars on YouTube and Facebook. And big social media numbers can help increase streaming income on services such as Spotify and Apple Music, which pay mere fractions of a penny per song play.

The internet is already a natural habitat for Marc Rebillet, whose career wouldn't exist without it. Prior to the pandemic, the 32-year-old New York–based electronic musician built a cult following online with his wacky, improvisational videos, accruing 1.8 million followers on Facebook and another million on YouTube, which he parlayed into a successful touring career. "I'm utilizing the internet to basically be a giant, dynamic billboard to come see me," Rebillet says.

Such digitally focused tactics have helped Rebillet add to his fanbase during the pandemic. He has smoked weed on Instagram with Wiz Khalifa, performed on Twitch with Flying Lotus and had hip-hop stars Erykah Badu, Ice-T and Snoop Dogg sing his praises and share his music on Instagram and Twitter, where his followers have more than doubled since March to over 380,000. In an echo of Kawaii's experience, many of those relationships were first formed by Rebillet replying to an online mention.

"If you can be there to interact with the people who are posting your stuff, particularly public figures, [social media] is a really strong way to solidify those connections. But you have to be there. You have to be there at the moment they share stuff," Rebillet says. "You just have to be on your phone all the fucking time."

That mindset led Rebillet to connect with Badu, who ended up livestreaming with him and later joining him in Fort Worth, Texas for an unconventional live show. Like many musicians, Rebillet's originally scheduled tour plans for 2020, which included his first appearances at Red Rocks Amphitheatre outside Denver and the Bonnaroo Festival in

Cookiee Kawaii by Rodesca Photography

"You just have to be on your phone all the fucking time."

Marc Rebillet by Shane McCormick

Manchester, Tennessee, were put on hold by the pandemic. But he managed to pull off a tour in June by visiting drive-in movie theaters in nine cities across the United States. Navigating local restrictions, coordinating safety protocols and selling tickets all posed major risks, but the tour earned write-ups from CNN and NPR and grossed about R9,178,800.00

"Honestly, I thought it was going to be a disaster," Rebillet admits. Tickets sold out for every night of the tour. Rebillet's pandemic stage show was achievable in part because he's a solo artist—he performs with only a keyboard and loop station. Plus, he says, timing was key. "I think it only worked as well as it did because we did it really in the thick of [Covid-19]," he says.

Most artists haven't had the luxury of salvaging a tour this year. RAC—the nom de plume for André Anjos, a Grammy Award–winning producer from Portugal who lives in Portland, Oregon—had to eat some costs he incurred from booking a 2020 tour intended to coincide with the release of his third studio album, Boy, in May. He went ahead with releasing Boy on schedule, deciding that the digital-only marketing strategy for album promotion would have to suffice. Luckily, the 35-year-old says that in recent years he's already tried to shift his business model away from relying on live shows, instead building up his portfolio of remixes, production credits and commercial song syncs, licensing his music out for TV shows and advertisements. His remix of Bob Moses's song "Tearing Me Up" earned him a Grammy in 2016 and he received another Grammy nomination in 2020 for his remix of Phil Good's "Do You Ever."

"I want to be the Tame Impala that puts out an album every four years and does tons of streams, and that's enough. But the reality is, only certain people can do that."

But even with these accolades, he doesn't yet collect streaming royalties from his solo material: As is the case with most indie record contracts, revenues are split 50-50 with his label, Counter Records, but only after recoupable losses are recovered. RAC has even trimmed his live show down from an ensemble to a solo act, to cut costs. But, with narrow margins, irregular pay cycles and sometimes flaky promoters, it's still not a lucrative revenue stream. "This idea of touring for income and putting out records for income is just not sustainable," RAC says. "I want it to work. I want to be the Tame Impala that puts out an album every four years and does tons of streams, and that's enough. But the reality is, only certain people can do that."

Danielle Johnson, a songwriter, producer and DJ from New York who performs under the name Danz CM, had her own plans for an album release and

RAC by Jules Davies

tour upended by the pandemic. After finishing her album, The Absurdity of Human Existence, in 2019, Danz CM held on releasing it in hopes of finding a distribution deal. Now she's planning to self-release the album in March to follow the first single, "Idea of You," which she released December 11, 2020. "It sounds pretty dark, but I'm just worried if I wait anymore, who knows what's gonna happen?" she says.

Danz enjoys a bigger following in Japan, where she works with Tugboat Records, than she does stateside, where she has always put out her releases through her own label, Channel 9 Records. Although she hasn't toured in North America since 2018, she says the biggest hit from not being able to promote the album on the road is the missed merch and album sales. "Probably 60 to 70 percent of the income with that stuff is from live shows. I might sell 30 copies of a vinyl [record per show at the merch booth]," Danz says. To compound matters, one of her biggest sources of income—commercial song syncs, which in Japan included major corporate clients like Panasonic—evaporated early on during the pandemic, forcing her into dire financial straits.

Unlike Cookiee Kawaii, who briefly worked as a food delivery driver when the pandemic started but was able to quit thanks to her music streaming income, RAC and Danz both needed ways to replace lost revenue from touring. They both now do regular livestreams on Twitch, and RAC also uses Patreon. RAC has seen particular success with livestreams, pulling in more than 600,000 viewers in some weeks on Twitch alone. "It completely replaced my income from touring," he says. "I'm actually making more money now doing this than I was touring." At the same time, his Spotify numbers have increased by one-third, with his monthly listenership up to nearly 2.3 million.

In recent months, RAC and Danz have both experimented with their livestream formats. RAC's streams are typically three hours long, twice a week, and include him talking to fans while he works on music. "I was like, okay, if I'm gonna stream, I want to do this pretty consistently, kind of like gamers do," he says. "I want people to feel like they're hanging out with me."

Danz took a cue from other Twitchers and played video games on her livestreams, but quickly found that she gets a better response when she plays music or does instructional videos for programs like Ableton. An avid gear head, Danz spent much of the summer focused on @synth history, an Instagram page about vintage synthesizers that she started in 2019. The account's followers have roughly doubled during the pandemic, and its 106,000 fans include Trent Reznor and John Mayer. Through the Synth History project, Danz conducted Q&As with the likes of the Who's Pete Townshend, LCD Soundsystem's James Murphy and 1970s synth pioneer Suzanne Ciani. She released the first episode of a Synth History podcast in August.

Despite Synth History's growth, it's not yet a moneymaker for Danz. Yet there are reasons for optimism, including gigs scoring The Map, a documentary short from I Am Trying to Break Your Heart and Mavis! producer Gary Hustwit, and an upcoming indie film.

Even for a social media savvy musician like Rebillet, the volatility of the pandemic has only underlined how fleeting success can be for musicians in normal circumstances. In October, while Rebillet was in Los Angeles, he began work on his first proper album, posting a photo from the studio with Snoop Dogg. While on the West Coast, he performed a trio of new drive-in shows, and on Thanksgiving day he did a Facebook livestream from his apartment in New York that was sponsored by Manscaped and seen by 886,000 people. For Rebillet, the hustle is working, if only for right now. "There's still some room to take this to even more ridiculous places while juicing some other plan, while watering some other plants so I have an exit strategy for this and I can enter the world of broader entertainment and keep this as a thing," Rebillet says. "But I think it has a shelf life. I can't do this forever."

Danz CM by Shae Detar

CODY RENEE CAMERON

Photography by Barry N[illegible]

HMUA Rubi [illegible]

SALOON

Cody Renee Cameron is a rising star in the Hollywood entertain ment scene. She's a model, actress, and stunt performer. Whether she's all glammed up on the red carpet or covered in dirt poppin' wheel ies on the track, this is one badass babe to keep your eyes on!

Tell us something surprising about you? I'm going to trucker school right now to get my Class A license! I wanted to add another skill set to my arsenal for stunt work and ultimately, I'd love to flip over a semi-truck in a movie like in the Dark Knight! I took a precision driving course with the stunt coordinator who made that all happen! Super cool stuff!

Describe yourself in three words. Quirky, Bold, and Fearless

Why did you choose to pursue a career in modeling? I remember when I was a little kid, finding my older brother's Maxim Magazine with Christina Aguilera on the cover, & just feeling in awe of how sexy she looked (even though I don't think I understood what the word 'sexy' meant yet) and I knew I just wanted to be part of THAT when I grew up.

What are some of your hobbies? I love riding motorcycles, horses, and...men! haha.

Were you excited to shoot for Playboy? Duh! Every time I work with Playboy is like a dream come true. It's such an iconic brand that has featured so many beautiful, talented, badass women! I feel honored to be a part of the Playboy family.

What would you consider to be your biggest challenge as a model so far? It's definitely challenging to not compare yourself to others, especially with all the plastic surgery. When you're constantly around a bunch of stunning young women in an industry with incredibly high beauty standards, you really have to do the self-work to remember that you are unique and no one can replicate what you have to offer. Before auditions, I like to put on some super sexy lingerie, blast some good music, look in the mirror and dance. I say "You're awesome!" and really hype myself up. 10/10 recommend!

What's one of your favorite movie roles that you've played? Oo this is tough because I've done so many indie movies that I really loved, but ultimately I'm going to say the role of Candy in El Camino: A Breaking Bad Movie. Working alongside Vince Gilligan and Aaron Paul and so many talented people on location was just such a cool experience. Vince let us really play with the characters and improv which always makes shooting that much more fun, too!

Turn-ons? Motorcycles and tattoos of course! I love a blue-collar guy that's not afraid to get his hands dirty. Someone with confidence and also kindness. Motivated, a good listener, tips the service staff well, and loves to shower me with attention!

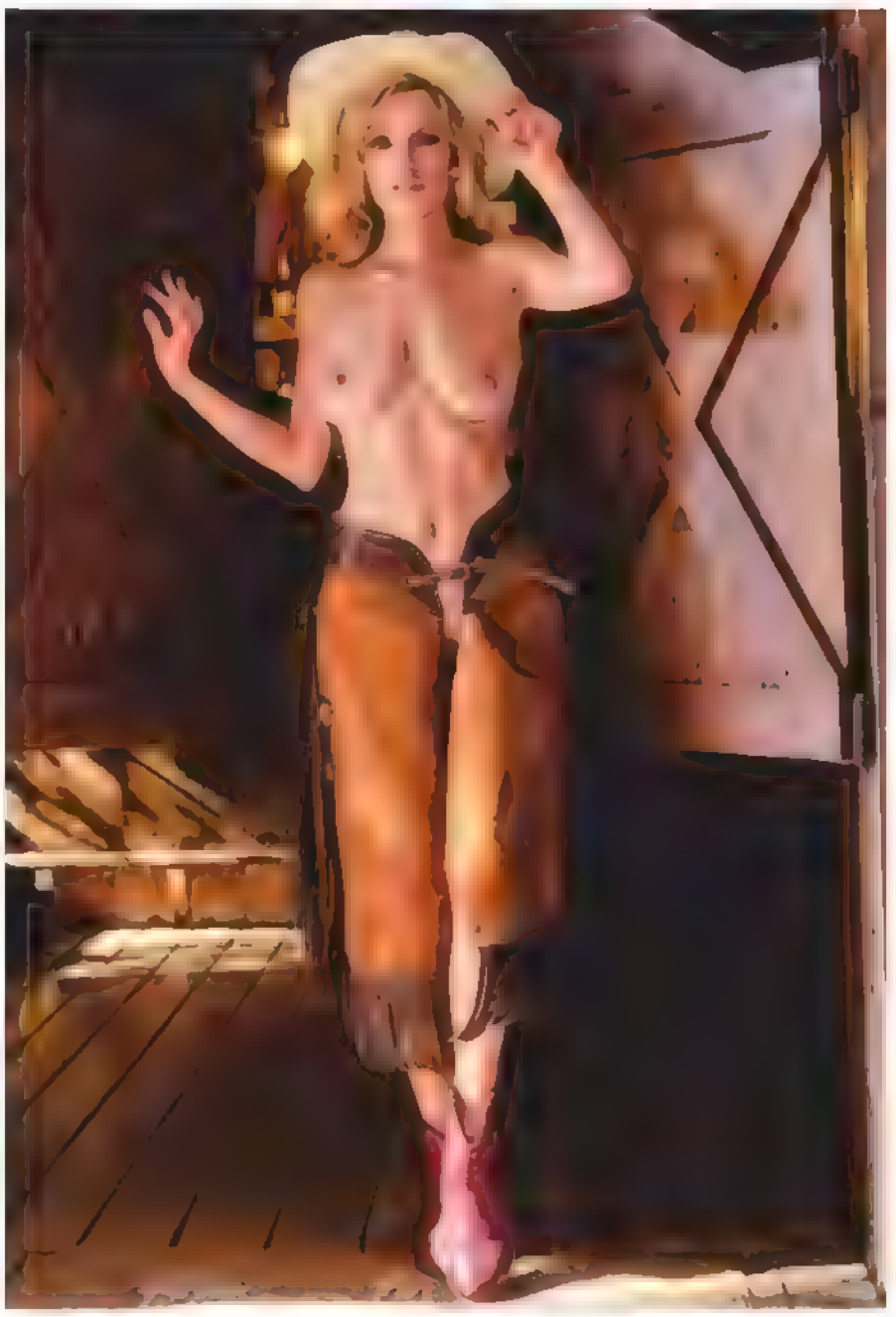
A guilty pleasure? I work really hard and am constantly shooting, taking classes, training, studying, and reading. I work as an actress, stunt performer, and model so I'm always on the go so my guilty pleasure is definitely those little moments when I can take some time off to just sit on my couch naked eating Nutella out of the jar with a spoon while watching some crazy reality tv. Don't Judge Me!

What is your favorite word in any language and what does it mean? Pizza! because you can order it in any country by just saying 'pizza' and they'll understand you and give you food (hopefully haha).

Do you feel more like a city person or a country person? Oo this is hard because I definitely grew up more country down in southern Illinois and I love shooting guns, riding dirt bikes, and camping, but now I live in Los Angeles and I love going to the theatre, being able to order sushi delivery at midnight if I want to, and staying at swanky hotels. I think I'm equal parts southern belle and city slicker!

Which song is absolutely certain to make you cry whenever you hear it? That Sarah McLachlan song- In the Arms of an Angel- that they play on those ASPCA commercials with all the little poor doggies and kitties. I want to rescue all the animals! I have 2 dogs and a cat that I love with all my heart. I wish I could have 100, but that might make my 1-bedroom apartment a little stinky.

What is your mantra? "I'm here to kick ass and chew bubblegum and I'm all out of bubble gum."

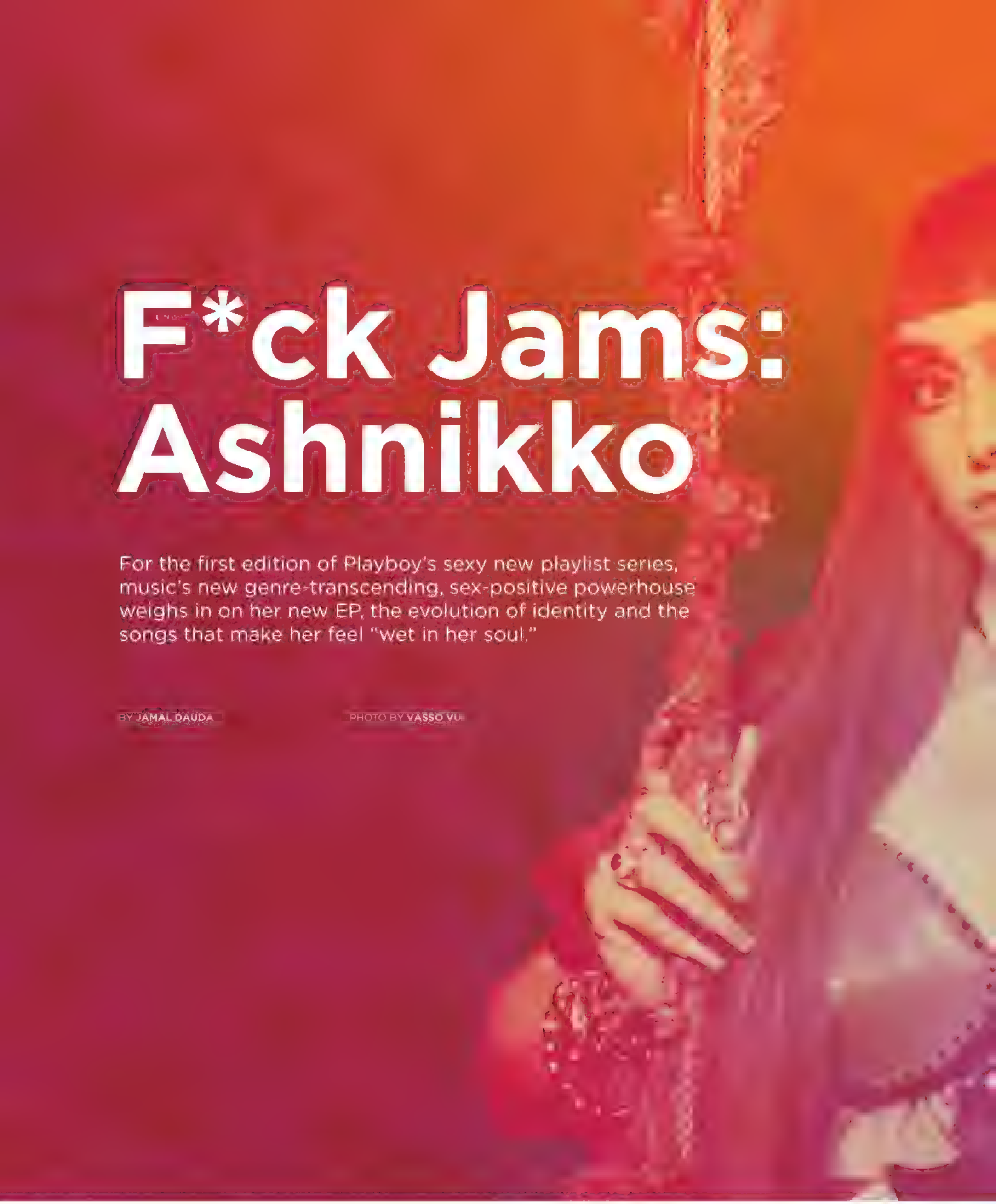


F*ck Jams: Ashnikko

For the first edition of Playboy's sexy new playlist series, music's new genre-transcending, sex-positive powerhouse weighs in on her new EP, the evolution of identity and the songs that make her feel "wet in her soul."

BY JAMAL DAUDA

PHOTO BY VASSO VU



When you decide to launch a playlist series called F*ck Jams, it takes more thoughtfulness than you might imagine. At its simplest, the ask is straightforward: Make a hookup playlist and don't take it too seriously. It could be your go-to throwback R&B songs that set the mood, the perfect song sequence for go time or the best Radiohead songs to cuddle to during that postcoital glow. Yet you still need someone who is in on the hilarity of it all. Someone willing to be thoughtful and vulnerable in ways that feel harder and harder to come by these days with the hyper-curation of the social media age. Lucky for us, Ashnikko is exactly the artist we need for this moment.

The 24-year-old Londoner by way of North Carolina has an innate ability to speak to profound personal truths in the same breath she reminds you that she "drew a dick on all your sweatshirts" in a post breakup fit of rage and closure. Identifying as bisexual, Ashnikko takes equal joy exalting and eviscerating past partners all across the spectrum, but always with an underlying self-awareness that reveals emotional maturity well beyond her years.

The blue-haired, anime-loving, sex-positive powerhouse has been pushing against the patriarchy since her 2018 release, Unlikeable. Brushing aside genre and lazy categorizations at every turn, she's as comfortable inhabiting the role of vigilante dominatrix over hip hop beats ("Daisy") as she is sharing a track with Grimes centered around the disintegration of a female friendship ("Cry"). Her brash, unapologetic lyrics about sex, misogyny in the music industry and the trappings of a digital-first culture (present on her newly released mixtape, Demidevil) show an exhilarating combination of humor and fearlessness that make her the perfect person to discuss pregame playlists, the joy of sex toys and the complexities of representation in media and entertainment. If you are familiar with her, it should come as no surprise that she put together a mix that is equal parts playful and sweet, while being seductive and horny at the same time. No small feat.

For the inaugural edition of Playboy's proprietary new music series, the artist tackles all of the above while taking us on a journey through a masterful weaving of her favorite tracks from Kehlani, Ty Dolla $ign, girl in red and a handful of other artists who are either already on your radar, or, as Ash puts it, sure to "make you feel it in your soul G-spot."

PLAYBOY: First and foremost, how have you been? How has quarantine been?

ASHNIKKO: I've been blessed. I'm healthy. My loved ones are healthy. I'm just trying to stay sane and learn some new crafts, like everyone else on Earth.

PLAYBOY: Some artists say, "I miss touring and I miss running around," which would make sense for you since you were pretty hot and heavy into promotional and touring mode. But then some people say, "Actually, I love just being home and making stuff." Which side are you leaning toward currently?

ASHNIKKO: In lockdown, my music has gone from zero to 100, and it's very strange to not be performing the songs that are doing really well. I almost don't have a grasp on reality. Like, I don't know how they're doing until I'll be in a cab and I'll hear the song on the radio and I'm like, "What? People like my songs?" Not having an energy exchange with people in real life is quite weird. The only way to gauge your fans' responses is through online comments, which is toxic.

PLAYBOY: How do you even begin to deal with socials? I've always been told, "Don't even look at comments. Don't even bother, don't even get in there."

ASHNIKKO: It's really bad, but I used to search my name and read the comments. I wanted to be in the know. And then one day I was just like, "I can't do this." So no, I don't read comments, or I will go crazy. I mean, on bad days I'll read them, and then it's like a spiral. It's the worst thing you can do to yourself. And then when it comes to other artists, some people are like, "I'm having such a good time. I'm writing an album and being so creative," and I'm just lying in bed like, "What am I supposed to write about? I have done nothing!"

PLAYBOY: Where are you pulling that inspiration from as an artist in a moment such as this?

ASHNIKKO: There's only so many times I can put the word "lonely" in a song. I don't even want to think about the music that's going to come out of the next year with the hot buzzwords like "lonely," "isolated," "quarantine." It's just

PLAYBOY: Yeah. I don't think we need a wave of pandemic pop. It's probably a bit much.

ASHNIKKO: Oh my God. That's what it's going to be called.

PLAYBOY: I really hope not. If we bury that and pretend I never said it, then hopefully it won't manifest itself.

ASHNIKKO: At this point, I'm writing made-up stories. I'm like, "This happened and I'm going to write a song about it," even though I'm lying and it didn't happen at all because I have been playing Zelda in my room for eight days straight.

PLAYBOY: I think that's okay. That's called "imagination." You're allowed to do that as an artist. Considering the immersive world you've built for yourself and the way you treat your visuals as this

"I like all my songs to make me feel wet in my soul."

kind of alternate reality, you're allowed to make up lyrics and lean into fantasy, right?

ASHNIKKO: Thank you. I think there's an element of building a fantasy, almost comic book–like, character in my music as well as visually.

PLAYBOY: Did I read somewhere that you are working on a live show for streaming platforms?

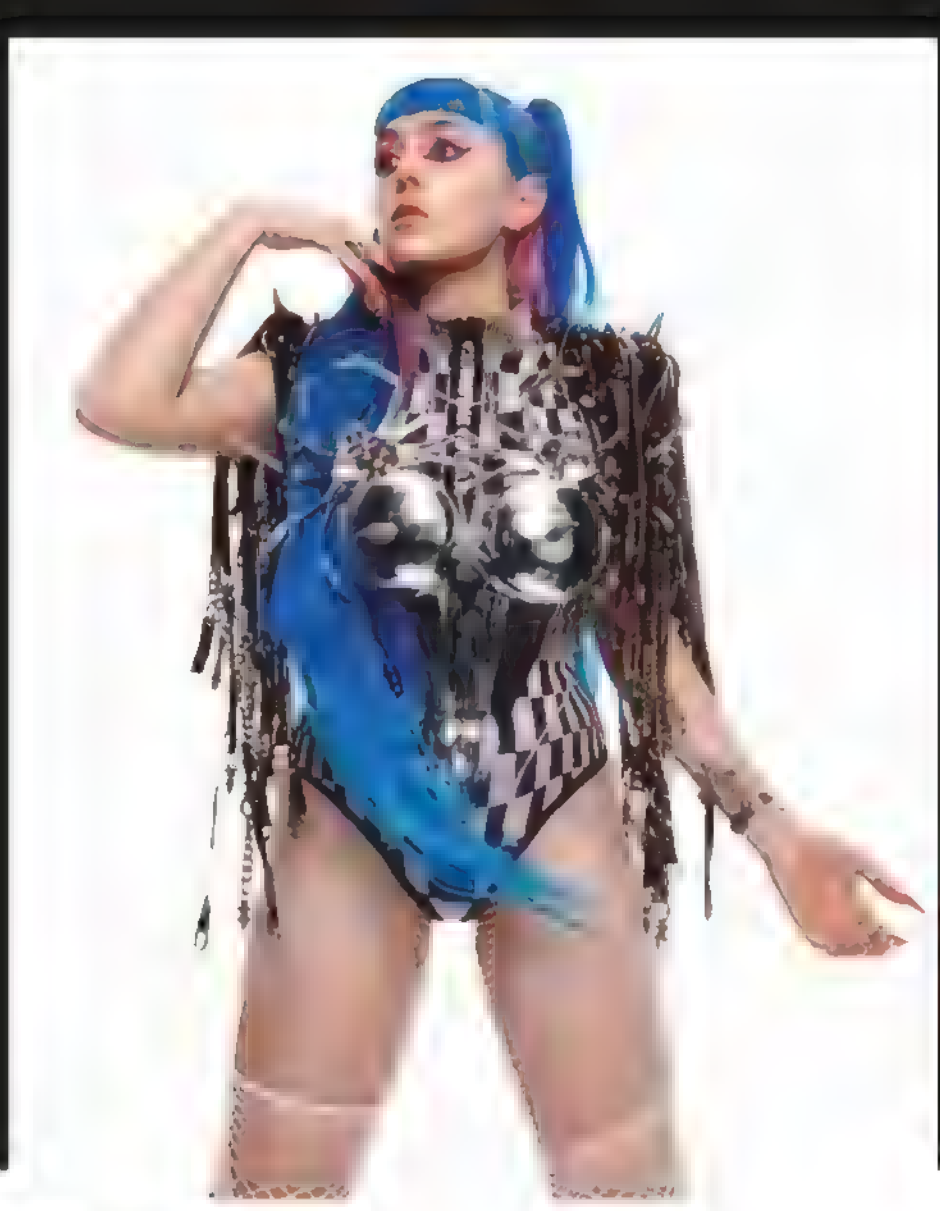
ASHNIKKO: We're working on a fantastical livestream show for you all. I'm hoping for some tentacles. There's going to be some dancing. This is my first time doing choreography for a live performance. I do it on music video sets sometimes, and I always injure myself really badly. I'm kind of uncoordinated, but I'm looking forward to the challenge of being a real pop girlie. This is my dream!

PLAYBOY: Let's talk about this sweet, sweet playlist, shall we? I think sometimes people try to play it too cool, as if they're not listening to other stuff that's out there or they're not aware of other musical contemporaries. But what I love is that this is a really ahead-of-the-curve playlist. There are some people on here who you can tell are going to break any minute. You're really on your A&R tip on this.

ASHNIKKO: One day, I'm going to be an A&R executive.

PLAYBOY: What was your thought process in putting it together?

ASHNIKKO: I was thinking of different speeds—different thrust speeds. I was thinking about songs that make me feel sexy. It's not even necessarily about sex; it's more about the feeling I feel when I like a song. It's almost like I get aroused. When you hear a song and you're just like, "Oh, yes. This song makes me feel so fucking wet in my soul." That's what I'm talking about. I like all my songs to make me feel wet in



Courtesy Charlotte Rutherford

Courtesy Charlotte Rutherford

my soul, you know?
PLAYBOY: Yes, absolutely. I think that's generally a good sign.
ASHNIKKO: Yeah. Your G-spot. Your soul G-spot, you know? That's all I have to say.
PLAYBOY: You did an awesome job of balancing out the vibe. I remember someone saying to me once, "There are people who sing about sex and people who make inherently sexy music, and those aren't necessarily the same thing." You are also drawn to interesting vocal melodies. The production styles are all over the place, but there's a lot of beautiful vocals here. Like the Shygirl track the way she delivers "Bawdy" is unique.
ASHNIKKO: Shygirl is really cool. I love her. It's sexy and it's sexual. I think we can put all the songs on here into two categories.
PLAYBOY: That's exactly what I love. There's a balance, where you have Big Sean and Ty Dolla, which are more explicit lyrically, and then some songs that are a bit more nuanced.
ASHNIKKO: But with Ty's melodies, it doesn't matter what he's singing. They're sexy. I said a while ago in an interview, "Ty Dolla $ign could sing, 'Pee, pee, poo, poo, diarrhea,' and I would love it."
PLAYBOY: I was talking to a friend recently about the contrast between the male and female gaze in film, and how you can feel the difference when a female director shoots love scenes versus a male one. Does the same thing apply to songwriting? Do you think men and women write about relationships in inherently different ways?
ASHNIKKO: I feel like there have been songs that are written by women but are very much for the male gaze, full of tropes. I have a song on my new mixtape called "Slumber Party." I was playing with those tropes a little bit, kind of as a joke. Now it's on the mixtape and already pressed to vinyl; the other day, I was like, "Oh my God. What if people don't understand that I was just making fun of tropes in pop music when women talk about being with other women?" I was up until like 4 A.M. thinking about it.
PLAYBOY: I wouldn't worry too much. I think your track record speaks for itself. The way you've handled the topic of queer sexuality in your songwriting and talking about feminism in a genuinely intersectional way on socials. I think people would be hard-pressed to accuse you of being disingenuous.
ASHNIKKO: The internet can do anything though. This is one thing I've learned this year. I can't control it and I just have to let go. What people think about me is really just none of my business.
PLAYBOY: And it doesn't mean they're right
ASHNIKKO: Yeah, but I definitely agree that there are a lot of performative queer-baiting songs in pop music.
PLAYBOY: Agreed, but you managed to lean into a few songs in this playlist that are very much not that. They are sweet and genuine, like the two girl in red tracks and Kehlani's "Honey." Really sincere and kind of universal stories.
ASHNIKKO: I love girl in red. I actually am realizing that I meant to put girl in red's "two queens in a king sized bed" on this list.
PLAYBOY: You did! You ended the whole thing with it.
ASHNIKKO: Oh, did I? Okay, cool. All right. Good!
PLAYBOY: You also threw a new Megan Thee Stallion song in there. Meg and SZA. And these choices make sense, because, like the three artists we're talking about, you feel like part of this really amazing continuum that's happening right now, in which, much to the chagrin of the people who have preconceived notions about what women in music should be discussing, women are talking about and owning their sexuality. Are you very open about sexuality in your life generally, or is it just in these songs?
ASHNIKKO: If you asked any of my friends, they'd be like, "Ash really goes into full detail about her sex life." I just don't have any filter when it comes to that. I don't think there's any taboo. For me, it's just a very natural part of being alive.
PLAYBOY: Why is it seemingly so intimidating for men when women own it? You can talk about a dick all day, but why is it weird when you want to talk about the female G-spot?
ASHNIKKO: I mean, you see in Hollywood films that when men cum, the rating is usually PG-13. Ejaculation can still make it into a PG-13 movie, but as soon as you see women owning their own pleasure, it's an issue. You see women wearing a bra mid-sex. I've never worn a bra during sex in my life. Just so, so weird. I think my desire to talk about my sexuality probably stemmed from being from the South. I'm from a conservative small town where it was definitely very hush-hush, very sinful to touch your clitoris. My mom has actually been quite open with me about it, but other family members are very conservative, very prudish when it comes to that stuff.

For a while, I was convinced that my own sexuality was quite sinful. That's what people around me told me. It's really embarrassing now to think back on it, but it took me so long to finally admit to myself and to finally come out. I think now I'm very outspoken because I don't want other young people to feel that way. I think representation is so important.

"It's not even necessarily about sex; it's more about the feeling I feel when I like a song."

Do you remember Naya Rivera? She played a queer character on Glee, and I was really sad when I found out she had passed. I feel like a lot of us block out difficult parts of our childhood. A memory came to me of being 12 or 13 and really struggling with being attracted to my best friend, and being mad at myself about that and thinking I was sinful. Then seeing Naya Rivera on Glee, I was really happy and I remember showing my mom an episode of the show and being like, "See? She likes girls."

PLAYBOY: I've heard similar stories from so many people I know. If you're talking about sexuality, race or gender, as humans, there is something about seeing yourself in art, sports, culture—all throughout society—in a way that's celebrated. It makes all the difference when you're trying to figure out who you are and where you sit in the midst of it all.

ASHNIKKO: Exactly. I'm still figuring out my sexuality and learning new things about my own pleasure and my body. You know, just learning about myself all the time. It's nice to hear songs and see pop stars talk about their queerness in a very honest, non–male gaze-y way.

PLAYBOY: People can go their entire lives without prioritizing or trying to figure out their own sense of pleasure and what makes them happy and how to communicate it. It can be a lifelong journey, and it can change frequently.

ASHNIKKO: I think it being a lifelong journey is very important because some people think they have to be one thing forever, that they can't learn about themselves.

PLAYBOY: Or can't unpack things slowly. You start off in one place in life and you think it's fundamentally who you are, but we all have doubts or these quiet voices we don't always listen to or understand. As you learn about other peoples' experiences and put yourself in new situations, you evolve. It's a really magical part of being human. We can go through metamorphosis in ways that surprise even ourselves.

ASHNIKKO: I've always been into sex toys, from when I was, like, 18 years old—as soon as I could go into the 18-plus part of Cyberdog. I was like, "I am getting a vibrator. I am going to try it out." I think over lockdown, it gave me a real opportunity to get into sex toys, which was really cool. I was like, "I'm 24 years old and I'm learning new things about my body." I would like to think I can learn about my body and my sexuality for my entire life, and evolve.

PLAYBOY: Do you ever think about which of your own tracks people are most likely to hook up to?

ASHNIKKO: Which of my songs do I think people will fuck to? I think "Halloweenie." "You've never had a love like me / Never hit a drug like me, fuck like me / She'll never eat the butt like me / Only tricks for your ass, it's Halloween." I had someone message me saying that they lost their virginity to that song.

PLAYBOY: And there you have it!

ASHNIKKO: On the flip side of that, I make music about sex positivity with sexual themes, but I get a lot of unsolicited sexual messages from people, which is really kind of gross. A lot of girls send me really, really explicit videos. They're like, "You make me feel so powerful," and they're like jacking off. I'm like, "No, don't send me that." There's a quote I read online from the artist Bobby Lynn: "Unfriendly reminder: I may sexualize myself, but that doesn't mean it's open season for you to send me inappropriate or gross DMs." I saw this yesterday and thought, "That."

PLAYBOY: I wholeheartedly agree. I know we're probably running out of time, so I'm going to end our talk with this: I was doing my normal rounds on Reddit—the Old Testament of the internet, as I like to call it.

ASHNIKKO: Oh, gosh. The Old Testament of the internet. I'm using that. Sorry. That was good.

PLAYBOY: All yours. I saw this hilarious post in a music forum where people talk about what makes a song sexy. People started rattling off all of these random things, so I'm going to name things and you can just quick-hit tell me: Does this make a song sexy for you?

ASHNIKKO: Okay.

PLAYBOY: Falsetto?

ASHNIKKO: Not for me.

PLAYBOY: Opening with a hot take, I like it. Saxophone?

ASHNIKKO: No.

PLAYBOY: Breathing noises?

ASHNIKKO: Yes.

PLAYBOY: Reverb?

ASHNIKKO: Yes.

PLAYBOY: Cowbell?

ASHNIKKO: No.

PLAYBOY: Banjo?

ASHNIKKO: Yes. Yes.

PLAYBOY: Really?

ASHNIKKO: I love the banjo. Also, the steel guitar.

PLAYBOY: Slide guitar is money.

ASHNIKKO: Love that.

PLAYBOY: Well, that's it. That's all I got for you.

Size Matters

Want to spice up your bedroom routine with lingerie? Make sure you get the right fit with our step-by-step size guide

WRITTEN BY **ANDREW SHAFER** PHOTOGRAPHY BY **MICHAEL BERNARD**

"There's gotta be a better way!" It's a refrain uttered by late-night infomercial actors as they clumsily spill soda on their keyboards or foolishly try to chop vegetables using a method other than slapping. And they're not wrong. There often is a better way, whether you want to peel potatoes using only a glove, navigate a lake in a rowboat that has a screen-door floor or simply buy your partner a sexy, properly fitted piece of lingerie.

Lingerie can be confusing. There are chemises and garters and corsets and bustiers. How is a bralette different from a bra? Hooks, straps, belts, cuffs. Wt-actual-f is a merry widow? Cup size or bust size: What's the difference? Shakira told us hips don't lie, but how does that in any way help us determine how many inches they are? This is about the point in the infomercial when the hapless husband would fall down the stairs carrying a drawer full of lacy camisoles, narrowly avoiding a shattered coccyx but stirring up some righteous indignation at the byzantine complexity of lingerie and its sizing.

There's gotta be a better way!

That's where our simple five-step manual for finding your partner's proper lingerie size comes in. The type of lingerie you buy is important, so consult our Language of Lingerie guide to find the one that most titillates you and your partner. (Let's call that Step Zero.) But lingerie type is a matter of personal taste.

What's not subjective is size. Lingerie is meant to make the wearer feel empowered, attractive and desired — and the best way to maximize those self-esteem-boosting feelings in your partner is to give her lingerie that actually fits. So before you buy, bust out your tape measure and do some good-natured snooping.

Step One: Panty Raid

Does she already have some lingerie that fits properly? Perhaps from a saucy bachelorette party, or a baby shower where the host totally misunderstood what a babydoll is, or Valentine's Day 2017 when she was still with that dick Thad who, yes, may have been a generous lover but could never make her laugh the way you do and definitely doesn't respect her the way you do and also what kind of name is Thad anyway and who does he even think he is and —

Where were we? Oh, right. If she already has lingerie that fits well, then you're golden. Simply go to her underwear drawer (or the box in the deep recesses of her closet labeled "Mementos of Thad") and check the tag. Boom — you got the size. If this were a flowchart, you'd be cruising down that line past all the other boxes, straight to the finish.

Step Two: Bust a Move

What if she isn't yet a lingerie owner? The good news: No Thad to worry about in this scenario. The bad news: You'll have to work a little harder to find her size. This subterfuge will be more involved than simply checking a tag, so wait until she's out of the house or thoroughly distracted. Throw on a trench coat, some sunglasses and a fake mustache (if you already have a real mustache, shave it off as a deep commitment to the disguise) and sneak into her bedroom. Or, as an alternative, simply walk into her room like a person who is not a creep or three children stacked on top of each other trying to sneak into an R-rated movie

Once you're in, start with her bust size. Find a bra she wears often and check the size. The number is her under-bust measurement; the letter is her cup size. To figure out her bust measurement, simply add to the under-bust measurement one inch for every cup size. A is one inch, B is two inches, C is three inches, D is four inches and if you haven't caught on to the pattern yet you should be very thankful you are even in a position to have a woman to buy lingerie for. For example, a 32B bra size means her bust measurement is 34 inches; a 36D means a 40-inch bust measurement. Mazel tov! You measured your first bust.

Step Three: Get Waisted

Next up is the waist measurement. Locate a dress that has a defined waistline. If all she has are flowy Coachella dresses, well, this is going to be harder. Once you've located a proper dress, lay it on a flat surface. With a tape measure, measure the inverted curve area a

few inches below the bust — the waistline, in layman's terms—from one edge of the dress to the other. Double that number to get her waist measurement. If, for example, the dress measures 13 inches across at the waistline, her waist measurement is 26 inches.

Step Four: Her Hips Adhere to the Truth at All Times

Bust: Check. Waist: Check. The final measurement you'll need is her hips. Find a pair of jeans she wears often. Zip and button them — basically, the opposite of what you're trying to accomplish with this lingerie purchase—and lay them on a flat surface. The hip area is about an inch and a half below the bottom of the zipper — a.k.a. the general area a woman's hips are located.

Measure the jeans from edge to edge across that hip area, and then, using the same rigorous mathematical formula from the waist section, double it. If the jeans are 18 inches across, the hip measurement is 36 inches; if they're 19 inches across, the hip measurement is 38 inches; if the hips leave Prague at 7 P.M. traveling at 60 mph and other hips leave Prague at 11 P.M. traveling in the same direction at 90 mph, the second hips will catch up in eight hours. Math!

Step Five: Size It Up

Now that you have her measurements, put all her clothes back precisely as you found them so she'll be none the wiser. Or really throw her off the trail by ransacking the place and then weaving an outlandish — but just believable enough — story about a crafty family of possums that broke into your house and wreaked havoc.

Whichever of those two equally viable options you choose, it's finally time to buy the lingerie. With her measurements in hand, it's quite easy to determine her size. Most lingerie companies provide a size chart on their website, so simply consult the chart to find the size that corresponds with her measurements. (Each product is unique, so make sure to check the size chart for each item you purchase.) If she falls between sizes, always go a size up.

Now that you have the right lingerie for the right partner, it's time to work on the final step: enjoy.

The Language of Lingerie

An erotic guide to all things silky and sheer

WRITTEN BY **THE PLAYBOY EDITORS** PHOTOGRAPHY BY **MICHAEL BERNARD**

We all know men are enchanted by a woman in lingerie, but most are flummoxed as to exactly why. Men tend not to talk of frills, lace or silk, but on a beautiful woman it's a language they instantly speak. To explore this conundrum, we decamped with a Victoria's Secret photographer and two beautiful women. We brought trunks of silk stockings, garter belts, corsets, camisoles and other diaphanous delicates to both conceal and reveal the beauty of the female form. Below, you'll witness what we uncovered and learn what you need to know to help you the next time you're in the market for something unmentionable for the woman or women in your life.

En Garter

Garter belts keep thigh-high stockings from sliding down. Unclipping them adds to the drama of the moment, underscoring the fact that all lingerie is a puzzle of sorts, a mystery that leads to the question: How does this thing come off, and who is going to do it?

Bare Necessities

A woman's beauty is at its purest without excessive adornment and unnecessary layers. A diamond choker brings out the sparkle in her eyes. Simple thigh-high stockings in basic black cover just enough but don't distract.

Stocking Options

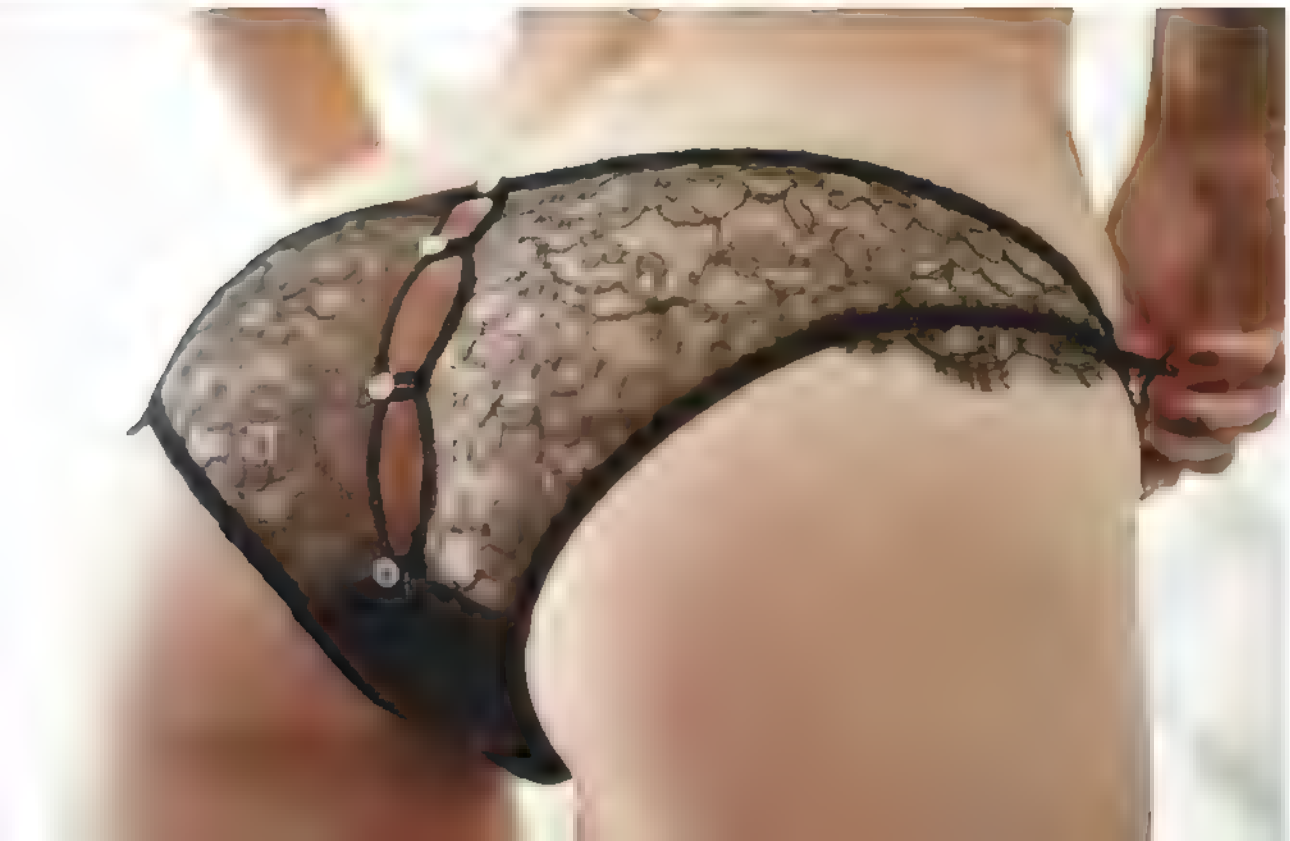
Black thigh-high stockings highlight the curves of a leg, leaving just a flash of skin at the top. While the long seam down the back is an old-fashioned flourish in this day and age, the way it traces the exquisite contour of the thigh and calf is an anachronism to be embraced. Slip-on heels are designed to be kicked off.

Stay the Corset

The corset is the most powerful piece of lingerie. And if the art of the striptease is about the delayed reveal, the corset is the ultimate in access denied—albeit momentarily. Until access is granted, the garment's structured shape accentuates the svelte hourglass contours of the torso. It can be kinky, it can be empowering, but above all it can be a dare to both people to continue to figure out their roles in the game that ensues.

Heel

A good pair of stiletto pumps adds height and conveys power. The high heels push the hips back and the calves out. Shoes can count as a sort of lingerie in their own right.



You Are Sheer

A lace robe or camisole represents everything we love about lingerie. It can be kinky or innocent, depending on how a woman wears it. Above all, it's transparent.

Sometimes a Cigar Is a Just a Cigar

BY MYCHAL DENZEL SMITH

PHOTO BY OXFORD_SHOT

Desde 1
HABANA
SHORT
HURCHILLS
HOYO
DE
MONTERREY
HABANA
EPICURE
N°2

In the first column of our new Philosophy of Pleasure series, New York Times best-selling author Mychal Denzel Smith writes on the complexity and simplicity one can find in a long drag of a cigar

I only recently came to smoking cigars as a near-daily habit. I've enjoyed them in the past, but with all the extra time on my hands during pandemic lockdown, I finally had the chance to get "into" them. That has meant lots of research on what makes a good cigar the various tobacco leaves and wrapper types, the countries of origin, size and shape, the heralded brands followed by sampling a wide variety to figure out my preferences and which cigars hit the mark. Then there are the cigar accessories you need for the full experience: cutter, lighter, ashtray and humidor. As with any hobby, people seek out ways to personalize it, to reflect other parts of their personality and interests in the thing they love. As such, you can find a lot of custom variations on humidors, lighters and the like

I didn't think much of it when I saw a picture online of a humidor and ashtray set painted with the image of Marlon Brando as Vito Corleone in The Godfather, smoking a cigar, except that maybe it was the ideal humidor for me given I love The Godfather (original, I know). I didn't think much of it again later when I came across some fan art depicting Vito in his iconic tuxedo, holding a lit cigar in his hand as the smoke rises above him. It all made sense. I could see the scene at the very beginning of the film, with Vito holding court in his office as he grants favors on the day of his daughter's wedding, quietly reflective yet still imposing and menacing. It wasn't until I was smoking a cigar myself a few days later that I realized something was off about it all: Vito never smoked.

At least not in Part I. Young Vito, played by Robert De Niro in Part II, can be seen with a small cigar a few times, but the older version's only vice is wine. The fan art with Brando's visage is the work of pure imagination. I've seen the films dozens of times, but nothing struck me as off about these fan-created images. It seemed natural. Gangsters are always smoking cigars on television and in film: Tony Soprano in The Sopranos, nearly everyone in Goodfellas, both the 1932 and 1983 versions of Scarface and so on. Indeed, when Francis Ford Coppola tricked Brando into a screen test for The Godfather role, among the props he brought with him were cigars. Gangsters and cigars go hand in hand.

It doesn't require a semester of a gender studies course to understand why this is. Cigar smoking has long been associated with a brand of masculinity neatly embodied in the gangster archetype. Hardened, stoic, a bit frightening. A cigar in hand, or expertly held in your teeth, becomes less about enjoyment of tobacco and more a statement on the kind of man you are. Cigar smokers are bosses, titans of industry, no nonsense, powerful. Fuck with them at your own peril.

I can't say how much this idea of the cigar smoker factors into the appeal for me, but it certainly isn't zero. There's something to feeling like I'm only a cut, light and draw away from the type of power that rules nations, big and small.

I know, too, that this association is part of the reason it has taken me so long to cultivate cigars as a hobby. My first cigar-smoking experience was almost a decade ago, after a chance encounter on a Brooklyn sidewalk with the founder of a website I was freelancing for at the time. He took me to a cigar lounge—one he said was frequented by Al Sharpton—and walked me through the ritual. Even with help, it took me a while to get it properly lit, then for an hour or so I made the rookie mistake of tapping the ash as if it were a cigarette. (Don't tap the ash; one sign of a well-made cigar is that it will hold the ash as you smoke it down, and it also serves to keep the cigar from burning too hot, allowing you a longer smoke time).

Still, I enjoyed it. I never thought I would be a smoker, scared as I was by my grandfather dying from lung cancer, but I couldn't deny it was one of the more relaxing activities of my young, stressful life as a broke freelancer. I hated the lounge, though. The atmosphere was pleasant enough low lighting and comfy booths—but the clientele irked me. It would be the same at all the cigar lounges I'd visit over the next several years, whenever I got the taste for a cigar: smoky rooms where James Bond films played on a loop, filled with men who were, or imagined themselves to be, the right-

A cigar in hand, or expertly held in your teeth, becomes less about enjoyment of tobacco and more a statement on the kind of man you are.

On my fire escape, cigar in hand, I don't imagine myself powerful. I know I'm not. But I am taking time for my mind to clear, to find peace.

ful inheritors of wealth, power and status. Men in khaki pants and tacky blazers who made money off the misery of others and still were able to sleep at night. My trips to cigar lounges were infrequent because I feared accidentally falling into conversation with one of these men and ruining a perfectly good cigar in the process.

It may seem as though I'm a harsh judge, and I admit that I am, but I'm also an eavesdropper and I'm only reporting what I heard. For a long time, I thought the cigar lounge was the only place I could go for a cigar, so I went only for special occasions or when the pull of the tobacco was too strong to deny.

Only recently did I get the notion that I could simply buy a cigar, learn to cut and light it and luxuriate in the pleasures of smoking all by myself. And that's what I do, sitting on the fire escape of my New York City apartment, getting lost in the blue-tinted smoke forming curlicues off the cigar's foot. I've developed an affinity for anything that comes from Padrón, Oliva or Liga Privada, especially when they have a maduro wrapper, which tends to carry notes of chocolate, coffee and sweet cedar. They can be a little spicy, too, particularly when (like all Padróns) they are made from 100% Nicaraguan tobacco. When those flavors are expertly balanced and the draw is full-bodied and the burn immaculate (like every Padrón I've ever had), it's a full sensory experience.

On my fire escape, cigar in hand, I don't imagine myself powerful. I know I'm not. But I am taking time for my mind to clear, to find peace amid the chaos, trauma and numbness of living through a global pandemic. It's meditation.

There are, rather obviously, other things I could do to achieve this—light some incense, drink a cup of tea, take a bath, do yoga, actually meditate—and they would all be better for my long-term health than smoking cigars. I drink plenty of tea, but the proximity to death makes cigar smoking all the more alluring. It is our greatest unknown, and my biggest fear, but when I'm holding the smoke in my mouth, contemplating the potential harm it is causing, I'm able to make peace with its coming. I don't want to die, but it is inevitable, and fear of it has filled my body with anxiety for decades. For an hour or so, the cigar releases me.

Not all my thoughts are so morbid, or else I don't think I would smoke daily. But considering the end, wrapped in the billowing cigar smoke, gives me the space to think about the statement I want to make about the kind of man I'd like to be while I'm still here.

Up Close and Personal

with the Aussie Beach Babe.

RENEE JAYNE

Heya Renee, it's great to have you. Could you tell us a bit about yourself and what got you started on your journey into modelling? Hello! Thank you for having me. A little bit about me, so hard when put on the spot. Im a fully qualified nail technician, I also have been dancing in a club for many years which I love and enjoy my freedom there.

I've done a couple of smaller shoots for promotional work in the past for clubs and small brands in the adult industry, so I'm not shy in front of a camera! I find the process of the whole day, from makeup to hair to the outfit changes to be a really fun environment and seeing the end result is a massive confidence boost! Opportunities arise and I like to give myself a challenge.

Hopefully I'll be doing a lot more in the future and my journey continues.

Tell us about your shoot for Playboy, 'cause we absolutely love the end product, wow... Started as a very early morning but ended being a beautiful day at the beach. We had a fun, easy going shoot. I really loved the outcome!

Who would you say inspires your style and what motivates your creativity? I don't really have a specific style that I go with or take inspiration from, I like feeling good within myself and comfortable in whatever I wear. Motivation comes from wanting to feel good, so I just go with whatever works for me that day.

What would you say has been the highlight (or highlights) of your career so far and could you tell us more about that? This shoot is definitely the biggest highlight of my career so far! I feel like every teenage girl looks at the beautiful women on the magazines and hopes that one day they could do that. It's a dream come true!

Do you have any role models or people that you look up to in the industry? There are so many wonderful, gorgeous women in this industry, it's hard to narrow it down to specifics. I generally look up to people with a fun out look on everything and who enjoy the time while they're working!

If you could work with any celebrity or brand who would it be and why? Miranda Kerr for her skincare line KORA Organics . I love a face routine, feeling good when not wearing makeup is the best feeling. Or Kim Kardashian for Skims, sometimes you just need a little something under a outfit to make you feel that extra bit of sexy. And I'm all for that!

Could you tell us about some of the special people in your life at the moment and how their support has pushed you to succeed? My mum has always supported me with everything I've done, she's an incredible woman! My friends are always right there supporting me and pushing me to be my best all the time too. I love the special circle of people I have!

What advice can you give upcoming models that aspire to be just like you? Always stay true to yourself, don't change because someone else wants you to. Do what you want and what makes you feel good. At the end of the day you have to feel good with yourself to be happy.

When you're not hard at work or prepping for a shoot what are some of the things you love to do to relax and have fun? I love being at the beach or by the pool with friends. Going out for dinner and drinks and enjoying life.

We all love binge watching a good series on Netflix too!

What part of yourself do you love the most, both physical and personality? Sounds so cliche to say but I actually really love my eyes, I'm always getting compliments on them and my eyelashes so that's a bonus. I like that I'm bubbly and a fun person to be around!

Speaking of love, what's your 'type' of guy, and what are a few things you find irresistible in a man? I don't have a certain type I go for looks wise, obviously I need to find them attractive but they don't all fit in to one category.

I like someone who is kind, loyal, and trusting! But also someone who is strong and confident within themselves and stand up for what they believe in.

In a relationship what matters more, money and security, looks and chemistry, or is it a balance between the two? It's a balance between both, I'd like someone who can hold their own and be okay and an individual without relying on their partner. I'm more than capable of living comfortably by myself I've been single for nearly 7 years. I've supported myself and I wouldn't need to rely on a man for that. Nothing beats chemistry, if there's no chemistry there can't be a relationship.

Are you working on any new projects at the moment and where can we find out more? I am working on a couple of things at the moment. One being my own nail boutique, planning to open a place for that very soon. It's something I love doing and creating beautiful nails for girls! You can find that on my business Instagram at @getpolishednailboutique

I'm also working with 'GET LEI'D', it's an awesome brand of beautiful Tahitian monoï coconut oil, smells absolutely divine, and makes my skin feel amazing! I have a shoot coming up for that, I feel so blessed to be an ambassador for such an beautiful brand. And you can find their page on Instagram at @getleidcoconutoil

It was awesome having you Renee... Any last words for all your fans out there and where can we follow you online? Thank you again for having me, it's been an exciting experience. I'd like to say a big Thank you to everyone who has supported me and hyped me up throughout everything! You can follow me on Instagram at @reneejayne

PLAY

COLLECTOR'S EDITION

Behind the Cover: January 1989

ZBOY

JANUARY 1989 • $5.00

WRITTEN BY
LIZ SUMAN

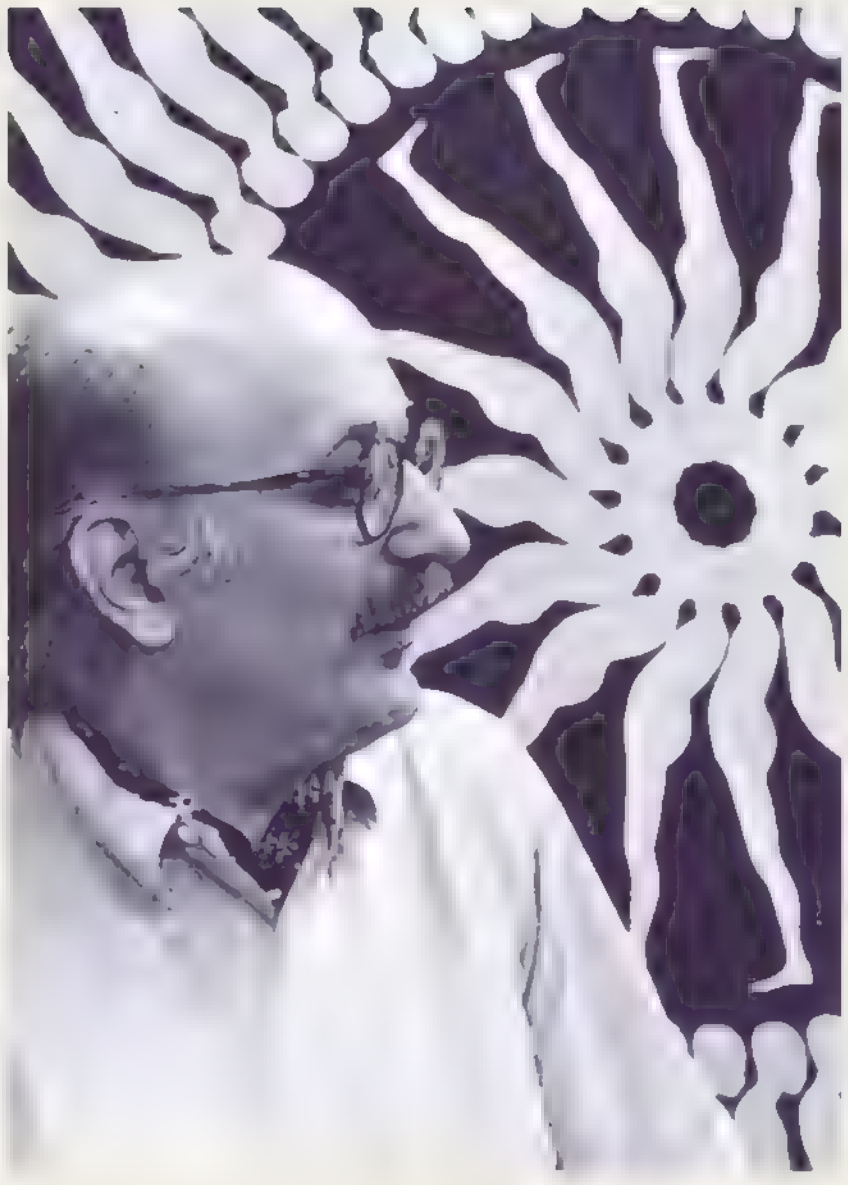
A look inside the sleek, thoughtful oeuvre of Ernest Trova, the self-taught sculptor behind PLAYBOY's 35th anniversary cover

Art at Playboy has never been limited to pictorials of beautiful women. It—as well as our ubiquitous Rabbit Head logo—has been inherent to the ethos of the brand for 67 years and counting. So much so that the latter has often served as the inspiration—and literal blank canvas—for the former. Case in point: World-renowned sculptor Ernest Trova created this futuristic stainless-steel hinged version of our Rabbit for the cover of PLAYBOY's January 1989 issue in celebration of the magazine's 35th anniversary (pictured below).

PLAYBOY's January 1989 issue

While being asked to create any cover was an honor, being tapped for the first issue of 1989 was particularly special. "Don't do a magazine that'll just show how smart we think we are," Hugh Hefner had said in response to editors' suggestion to mark the magazine's 35th anniversary with "a grand retrospective issue." Instead, Hef continued, "Do an issue that will get the essence of Playboy without any pretense. Do an issue that a reader will savor, not one that an editor will gloat over."

Providing the issue's defining visual statement in line with Hef's vision was a testament to Trova's skill and originality, and the artist was in incredibly good company. The star-studded roll call for the 350-page tour de force included dozens of the most important cultural, artistic and literary figures to grace Playboy's pages during its first three and a half decades: Martin Luther King Jr., Ray Bradbury, Barbra Streisand, Jack Kerouac, John Lennon, Yoko Ono, Raquel Welch, Shel Silverstein, Linda Lovelace, LeRoy Neiman, Ian Fleming, Vladimir Nabokov, Joan Collins, David Mamet, John Updike, Barbi Benton, Joyce Carol Oates, Truman Capote, Bo Derek, Andy Warhol, Bunny Yeager, Robert De Niro, Malcolm X and Madonna to name just a few.



A portrait of the artist

A self-taught artist born and bred in Missouri, Trova rose to prominence in the 1960s for his Falling Man series, a collection of sculptures, paintings and silk-screened prints depicting an armless human figure, which the artist characterized as "man at his most imperfect." Following the death of his father, an industrial tool designer and inventor, Trova secured a job as the window dresser for a department store. Working with mannequins clearly informed the artist's aesthetic, as did the jazz and blues music he often listened to while he worked. (Fun fact: At the time of the 1989 Playboy commission, Trova was constructing a series of bronze troubadour figures inspired by the music of Spanish crooner Julio Iglesias.)

Trova created this exclusive "Do-It-Yourself Multiple" for PLAYBOY'S December 1970 issue, allowing readers to take home an original Trova for the bargain price of R29.00—the magazine's cover price at the time.

Though his 1989 cover art is perhaps the most memorable of Trova's creative contributions to the Playboy pantheon, it is not the only one. In addition to illustration work for the magazine (including the special three-dimensional cut-out pictured above), the artist also created a seven-by-four-foot kinetic Rabbit Head for Playboy in 1997. That hinged hare now greets guests in the lobby of the company's world headquarters in Los Angeles, and you'd be hard-pressed to find a visitor who leaves without a selfie with the artist's signature take on our mischievous bow-tied mascot.

Trova spent more than two months creating th s arge-scale Rabbit Head for PLAYBOY in 1997. The sculpture features a flappab e ear and bow t e and is the only known kinetic version of the Rabbit

1969

Playboy Interview

Jesse Jackson

A candid conversation with the fiery heir apparent to Martin Luther King Jr., originally published in the November 1969 issue of PLAYBOY

WRITTEN BY **ARTHUR KRETCHMER** PHOTOGRAPHY BY **JEFF COHEN**

In the 19 months since the murder of Martin Luther King Jr., only one man has emerged as a likely heir to the slain leader's pre-eminent position in the civil rights movement: Jesse Louis Jackson, the 27-year-old economic director of King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The Reverend Jackson's first national exposure, in fact, came as a result of his closeness to Dr. King. He was talking to King on the porch of the Lorraine Motel in Memphis when the fatal shot was fired and cradled the dying man in his arms. The very next day, at a Chicago City Council meeting, Mayor Richard Daley read a eulogy that pledged a "commitment to the goals for which Dr. King stood." The Reverend Jackson had flown in from Memphis without sleep to attend the ceremony; he stood up in a sweater stained with Dr. King's blood and shouted to the assembled Chicago political establishment, "His blood is on the hands of you who would not have welcomed him here yesterday."

That gesture demonstrated both the militant indignation and the dramatic flair that mark Jackson's charismatic style. The New York Times has written that he "sounds a little like the late Reverend Martin Luther King and a little like a Black Panther." It added that "almost everyone who has seen Mr. Jackson in operation acknowledges that he is probably the most persuasive black leader on the national scene."

Jackson's personality is possibly even more in tune with the present black mood than Dr. King's was, because, as Richard Levine pointed out in Harper's, "Dr. King was middle-class Atlanta, but Jesse Jackson was born in poverty in Greenville, South Carolina." Jackson calls himself a "country preacher," but he combines his down-home style with a sharp intellect. He attended the University of Illinois for one year but dropped out in 1960 to attend the Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina in Greensboro, where the first black sit-in had taken place earlier that year. He was an honor student, quarterbacked the football team and organized civil rights demonstrations. After graduation, Jackson went North to study at the Chicago Theological Seminary, where he devoted most of his extracurricular time to local civil rights work.

It was Dr. King himself who originally spotted Jackson's leadership potential during a massive civil rights drive in Chicago in the summer of 1966 and appointed him to head all of SCLC's economic projects in the North. In the three years since that appointment, Jackson has concentrated most of his efforts on the Chicago-based project called Operation Breadbasket and made that pilot program the most impressive demonstration of black economic and political power in the United States. Breadbasket's organizational methods are now being applied under Jackson's guidance in 15 cities ranging from Los Angeles to Brooklyn.

The project's primary goals are to create jobs for blacks and to encourage them to own and operate businesses. Boycotting, or the threat of it, is Breadbasket's most potent weapon. The effectiveness of this technique was most evident in a breakthrough victory over the huge Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company, which operates 40 stores in Chicago's black ghetto. To avoid the financial loss that a boycott would have caused, the A & P signed a pact guaranteeing jobs for blacks and the distribution of black products on A & P shelves. As Business Week reported in a story about Operation Breadbasket, "Nationally, the organization's efforts have resulted in about 5,000 jobs and R765.00 million in annual salaries to Negroes. But the Chicago campaign [against A & P] represents Breadbasket's most significant victory, for it is the biggest settlement with a chain, in a single city, and set a precedent for other food-chain negotiations across the country."

The A & P pact was especially significant because—in addition to a guarantee of over 700 jobs for blacks and marketing more black businessmen's products—the company also agreed to use black-owned janitorial and exterminating companies in its ghetto stores, to bank in black-owned banks, to advertise in black media and to have black construction firms build its ghetto stores. Monthly meetings between representatives of A & P and Breadbasket are designed to assure that the company is not shirking. On the personal level, sensitivity seminars attended by A & P executives attempt to awaken management to the existence and effects of prejudice. Similar agreements have been signed with more than half of all the major food distributors in the ghetto.

The Reverend Jackson created an even more far-reaching program last spring, when he initiated the Illinois Hunger Campaign. Believing that hunger is the one issue that could unite the black and white poor, Jackson led a caravan to all of the poverty areas of Illinois, ending with demonstrations at the state capital in Springfield. The pressure this exerted on the Illinois legislature was so great that a planned cut of R2,400.00 million in welfare funds was restored at a time when New York and California were making sizable cuts in their welfare payments. An impassioned appeal by Jackson, from the steps of the capitol building, inspired a bill to provide school lunches for all of the needy children in the state. Jackson also extracted a promise from the state legislature to prevail on Washington for special surplus-food allotments for the poor. The Illinois Hunger Campaign was conceived by Jackson as an extension of the Poor Peoples' Campaign begun by Dr. King, and there are plans for similar efforts in other states next year.

No matter what his other commitments may be, Jackson always attends the Saturday-morning meeting of Operation Breadbasket. The location has been changed three times this year, because the congregation continually outgrows its premises, and Breadbasket presently resides in a 6,000-seat movie theater on Chicago's South Side. The lobby of the theater is filled with tables displaying black merchandise, and the auditorium itself is hung with signs that exhort the gathering to buy black products and use black services. The first hour of the meeting is devoted to Gospel music by the Operation Breadbasket orchestra and choir, interspersed with the business for the week—either boycotts or special "buy-ins." Playboy's Associate Articles Editor, Arthur Kretchmer, who conducted this interview with Jackson, describes the remainder of a recent meeting.

"After Breadbasket's projects were out of the way, a frail old lady, whose face was ravaged by time and much else, was given the stage. In a quiet voice, and with great dignity, she briefly described the humiliation she had suffered during an interview with a welfare worker the previous week. Then she said she had come to the meeting to again the strength that would enable her to block her door in the future. 'They can starve me,' she said, 'but I'll die before they come back with their damn forms and their damn questions.' With that, she slowly raised her fist in the black-power salute and the audience gave her the most sympathetic ovation I've ever heard.

"Then Jackson was introduced—and greeted by 10 minutes of standing, clapping, stamping love. He is a big man with an imperial manner. The head is leonine and the facial expression at once fierce and sullen. He was dressed, like a Mod black emperor, in a brilliantly colored dashiki, bell-bottom jeans and high-top country shoes. Biologist Desmond Morris has written that a leader never scrabbles, twitches, fidgets or falters, and Jackson qualifies. For over an hour, he delivered a passionate sermon that described the black man's plight in white society. It was filled with street talk, down-home slang and quotations from the Bible—but its effect was Greek tragedy with soul.

"The sermon was punctuated by piano and organ riffs similar to a rhythm section's backing of a good jazz soloist. Halfway into an eloquent plea that blacks not waste their energy fighting among themselves, he called on one of the choir members, Sister Theresa, to sing 'I Can See the Promised Land,' because 'I need it,' he said. At one point in the sermon, he paused, clearly exhausted, and turned to the audience to say, 'Yes, I'm tired.' An old woman's voice called out, 'Take care of him, Lord. We need him too bad for you to let him die.'

"Everyone around Jackson is acutely aware of his poor health. He has suffered this year from traces of sickle-cell anemia and assorted viruses brought on by lowered resistance. He's been hospitalized a half-dozen times but never missed a Saturday at Breadbasket. It is common for a parishioner to greet him with, 'Hello, Reverend Jesse. Are you taking your medicine?'

"After Jackson finished the service, the Operation Breadbasket orchestra played a dozen choruses of a syncopated, soulful 'We Shall Overcome,' while all 6,000 people in the audience—a number of whom were white—stood holding hands and swaying back and forth in one of the oldest, most moving rituals of the civil rights struggle. The effect of the morning was catharsis and rejuvenation. I don't think anyone who entered the theater that morning could have left without shedding some

of the despair that seems to be afflicting the black liberation movement.

"A few moments later, I had a completely different, but indelible, impression of Jackson's impact. I was waiting to see him in a small dressing room. He was resting in an armchair, talking to a very pretty, shy black girl of about 20 who was standing near him. She said to him, with some embarrassment, 'Reverend, I just want to tell you how much you mean to all of us.' He slowly raised his head and said, 'Hell, that's just a lot of talk. If I was really important to you, you'd take pity on my old tired body and invite me home, so your momma could fix a fine meal for me.' She was immediately flustered and said, 'Oh, Reverend. You're just having fun with me. You don't mean it. You wouldn't come to my house.' He looked at her with a stern expression that he couldn't quite prevent from turning to a smile and said, 'You tell your momma I'm coming over Thursday night. Tell her to do some fixin'.' She looked at him, trying to tell if he were serious, and her eyes widened, her hands began to fuss and her jaw dropped open. Finally, she said, 'Would you really? Would you really come? If you do, I'll charge my friends admission at the door. A half a dollar to see you and a dollar to touch you!' Jackson looked at the girl and then at me, laughing his appreciation. Actually, on those rare occasions when he's in the city, Jackson is well taken care of by his beautiful 25-year-old wife, Jacqueline—and harassed by his three energetic children."

Because of Jackson's heavy schedule, Kretchmer couldn't get enough time with him until both took refuge in a rural retreat where the "country preacher" was free to explore at length the militant new mood of the black struggle and his own role in it. Since Dr. King's death had seemed for many to signal the end of the nonviolent phase of the civil rights movement — a philosophy Jackson continues to champion — the interview began with that topic.

PLAYBOY: Though the mood of blacks has changed markedly since the death of Martin Luther King, are you still committed, as Dr. King was, to nonviolence as the only way to win racial justice?

JACKSON: We will be as nonviolent as we can be and as violent as we must be. We should not choose violence first, because it is an inhumane way of dealing with problems. We also do not have the military resources to deal with the American power structure. There's no sense in facing tanks with a .22 pistol. Our circumstances and terrain would not give us the freedom to use a violent strategy. The ghettos are built like a military stockade. America never needs to actually come in. The lights can be turned off, the water shut off and the food supply stopped. We could be eliminated in the ghetto without anyone even crossing the railroad tracks to get us.

PLAYBOY: Do you mean to imply that if you did have the military resources, you would wage war against white Americans?

JACKSON: I am just pointing out that there is a strong pragmatic case for nonviolence. I am philosophically committed to nonviolence because I think it is the creative alternative and should be used as long as it helps protect and sustain life. It is a creative alternative to the Pentagon, for example. Just as there are forces in this world with a design for killing, so must there be forces with a design for healing.

PLAYBOY: Stokely Carmichael and Eldridge Cleaver, among others, say that unless blacks create their own design for killing, they are going to be killed themselves. Is this an irrevocable split in the black movement?

JACKSON: No. The competition to nonviolence does not come from Stokely or Eldridge; it comes from America's traditions. It comes from little children seeing cowboys solve their moral problems by killing. The competition to nonviolence comes from the military draft, with its nine weeks' training on how to kill. The trouble is that nonviolence is so often defined as refusal to fight, and that is the American definition of cowardice. In fact, marching unarmed against the guns and dogs of the police requires more courage than does aggression. The perverted idea of manhood coming from the barrel of a gun is what keeps people from understanding nonviolence.

PLAYBOY: If your life were endangered, could you use a gun?

JACKSON: Yes. Nonviolence does not demand that one develop an absolute, universal commitment to pacifism. That old notion of being in a dark alley and having a man step out with a gun does not apply. Of course, I am going to do whatever I must to get rid of the man and his gun. I preach nonviolence because it's the better alternative. In that alley, there is no alternative. But peace is the alternative to war, and nonviolence should be seen as the antidote to violence, not simply as its opposite. Nonviolence is more concerned with saving life than with saving face. It is the most sensible way to combat white society's military oppression of blacks.

PLAYBOY: Do you think white America is actually waging war on black America?

JACKSON: Yes, it's a war. Sometimes it's waged by a white army in full military gear, as any weapons count among special riot police would show. But it's also a war of attrition, a siege, in which the violence takes other forms. To me, violence is starving a child or maintaining a mother on insufficient welfare. Violence is going to school 12 years and getting five years' worth of education. Violence is 30 million hungry in the most abundant nation on earth. White America must understand that men will steal before they starve, that if there is a choice of a man's living or dying, he will choose to live, even if it means other men die. These are human reactions, and we cannot assume that black people are going to be anything less than human.

"Peace is the alternative to war, and nonviolence should be seen as the antidote to violence, not simply as its opposite."

PLAYBOY: Is there a point at which you feel violence would be justified?

JACKSON: If I saw that there was no other way for us to be liberated, yes.

PLAYBOY: For many white people, the most disturbing incident of potential black violence this year was portrayed by a news picture of armed students at Cornell. What do you think about their use of weapons?

JACKSON: They didn't use them, except in the symbolic sense of warning groups that had threatened them that they were capable of their own military defense. I have doubts about the enduring success of the technique of military defense, but I appreciate the feelings that brought such a desperate mood into existence.

PLAYBOY: Another group that has endorsed violence as a tactic is the Black Panthers, which J. Edgar Hoover has called "the greatest threat among the black extremist groups to the internal security of the United States." Do you support the Panthers?

JACKSON: I'm very sympathetic to the Panthers. They are the logical result of the white man's brutalization of blacks. The remarkable thing about them is that they have not conducted any military offenses. They have not gone to downtown America to shoot up white-owned stores. The Panthers are a defense for justice, just as the Ku Klux Klan is an offense for injustice. That's a qualitative difference between picking up a gun to keep from being brutalized and picking up a gun to inflict brutality. As far as Mr. Hoover's opinion goes, I don't think that his perspective is relevant when it comes to the problems that are facing this society—which is surprising, when you consider all the good information he gets. He certainly knows what I'm thinking about and talking about most of the time.

PLAYBOY: Does the FBI keep you under surveillance?

JACKSON: Yes. It's admitted tapping Dr. King's phone, and I used to speak with him at least twice a week. The persons he spoke with were also frequently tapped, and I don't imagine they've untapped me, as my activities have increased since his death. But anything they've heard me say, if they come around. I'll be glad to repeat out loud to them. I want to add that I consider Mr. Hoover himself to be one of the greatest threats to our national security. His wire-tapping and other surveillance methods violate the principles of democracy. The FBI director doesn't account to

anyone, not even to the Attorney General; in reality, he heads what is very nearly a secret police.

It's on this subject of abusive police power that the Panthers are profound No white community in America has a majority of black police, but black communities are militarily occupied by white police. The Panthers are right to say that the white police should be gotten out, just as the Americans were right in saying, "Get the redcoats out." We are saying, "Get the bluecoats out."

PLAYBOY: Aren't you really saying, "Get the white bluecoats out"?

JACKSON: No. We don't want white bluecoats, but we don't want black bluecoats either. We don't want to be policed by a supreme white authority, even if the agents of the authority are black. We're saying that the black community should police itself; the authority for the police should come from the home area, not from city hall, which is alien to us, has never been sympathetic to us and openly supports the police who oppress us.

PLAYBOY: Do you think, as some radicals seem to, that America is a police state?

JACKSON: For black men, it is. Nobody in the black community who's had the experience of being made to spread-eagle over a car for no reason, or because of a simple traffic ticket, would disagree with that. Some black folks disagree, but that's because of their lack of experience. If they just keep on living, they'll confront the reality soon enough. The reality is tyranny, and the tyrant must be opposed. Whether we are called Operation Breadbasket or Black Panthers or niggers, we know who the enemy is. We will gain our freedom by being more willing to die for it than the slavemaster is to die to keep us enslaved.

PLAYBOY: Do you agree with the controversial Panther demand that all black prisoners be released from prison?

JACKSON: Yes, but there are probably some black men who have been so broken, whose lives have been so twisted that they would be dangerous to all other men, both black and white, and I suppose they should not be released from confinement, though I would hope that genuine rehabilitation would replace detention. But just as the black community is a colony of white America, and those of us within that colony should be liberated, so should those of us who have been especially victimized by the viciousness of the colonial rules, and tried by the white slavemaster, be released. All of the black community should be liberated, and that includes those behind steel bars as well as those behind economic and social bars.

"Violence is starving a child or maintaining a mother on insufficient welfare. Violence is going to school 12 years and getting five years' worth of education. Violence is 30 million hungry in the most abundant nation on earth."

PLAYBOY: The subject of black crime preoccupies white America and, in the opinion of some commentators, helped elect Richard Nixon president. Many whites feel that their fears of black crime are completely justified, particularly in the light of your previous statement that black prisoners should be freed. How would you respond to that?

JACKSON: The Crime Commission appointed by Lyndon Johnson showed that most black crime is against blacks. The white folks who exploit us are as safe as a baby in a womb. The black man's hostility comes from the deprivation and frustration and tension of the ghetto. Most people handle that hostility surprisingly well, and those who don't, take it out on the nearest target other blacks. Another reason black men hurt other black men is that the punishment is less than when you hurt a white man. The price for hostility against whites is too high. To talk back to a white boss is to be fired. And to make violent gestures against white people is to invite instant death. So the hostility that is bred in the ghetto leads to suffering but mostly by blacks, not whites.

PLAYBOY: The incidence of property crimes by blacks is very high and is increasing. Do you think the white middle class is wrong to be concerned about protecting its possessions?

JACKSON: That property usually belongs to blacks, not whites. It is the ghetto resident whose home is robbed, sometimes two or three times in the same month. Black crimes against property are the result of desperation. I said earlier that a man will steal before he starves. Black crime is crime because of need; whites commit crimes of greed. Black folks do not set up elaborate kidnappings for a million-dollar ransom. The financial value of all of the property crimes committed by blacks in one year doesn't equal the money lost in the famous salad-oil swindle. Blacks are not out for a big score; they are out to stay alive. And when he's caught, the black man can't afford bail and a good attorney. Already wounded and probably crippled by the system, he spends more time than whites inside the jail system, where he is further destroyed by it. His criminality is molded by the police state. I was especially aware of this in the South, where I grew up. The police were an absolute power. They were not merely enforcers of the law; they were the law. They could do anything they wanted, because the judges and the legal system were thoroughly racist.

PLAYBOY: Do you have any recollections of personal confrontations with the police when you were young?

JACKSON: I remember that they seemed to get a kick out of breaking down the front door if you didn't answer quickly enough. When I was a little kid, we'd run and hide under the house at the sight of a police car. Later on, they locked us up for things like vagrancy or cursing. In time, they would kill a few of the guys I grew up with, and it was always "in the line of duty." There were some humorous incidents too. One cop in Greenville, South Carolina, became famous for locking up a black man for "reckless eyeballing"; he had been staring at a white woman about 100 feet away. And I remember we weren't allowed to stand around the store windows while they were changing clothes on the white store dummies. My Northern friends get a big kick out of that, but it's symbolic of the awesome pattern of Southern oppression.

My own most frightening experience, though, didn't involve a policeman. There was a store on our street run by a white man named Jack. The customers were all black, and it was a comfortable place. Jack used to play with us kids all the time, and we'd run errands for him. One day, I went in and the store was full of people, but I was in a big hurry, the kind of hurry a six-year-old is always in. I said, "Jack, I'm late. Take care of me." He didn't hear me, so I whistled at him. He wheeled around and snatched a .45 pistol from a shelf with one hand and kneeled down to grab my arm in his other fist. Then he put the pistol against my head and, kneading my black arm in his white fingers, said, "Goddamn it! Don't you ever whistle at me again, you hear?" I didn't think he was really going to shoot me, even then; the thing that got to me was that none of the black people in the store did or said anything. My impression of the superpower of whites to do absolutely anything they want and get away with it right in the middle of blacks was a traumatic experience that I've never recovered from.

PLAYBOY: Are such experiences for blacks still part of the Southern heritage?

JACKSON: Yes, but less frequently, and I think Dr. King is the reason for

the change. The significance of his movement can be seen only against a Southern background. He taught us that even if the police—the law—say you can't sit down, sit down anyway. In most communities until then, there weren't five men who had that kind of courage. He challenged us to stand up to the police we used to run from. In Montgomery, Alabama, the cradle of the Confederacy, he rose up and declared that black men deserve their full rights of manhood. There wasn't enough money to buy him, and there weren't enough jails to hold him. Death itself isn't enough to stop black men from being free, for crucifixion leads to resurrection.

PLAYBOY: One of the seeming ironies of the civil rights movement is that while the Southern black has gone far toward winning freedom, the ghetto black in the North is in an increasingly frustrated mood. How do you explain this?

JACKSON: The Southern movement fulfilled some of the hopes it raised. We achieved our goals in the bus boycotts and the freedom rides. The public-accommodation and voting-rights bills were passed. We haven't had corresponding success in the North. The Northern black has seen some progress, but his advancement doesn't compare with the advancement of white society. The economy quadruples while blacks creep along with unemployment as high as 35 and 40 percent in some black communities. When the white unemployment rate was 20 percent in 1933, it was a Depression that required massive aid. But the black unemployment rate is ignored.

The most frustrated are those who have worked hardest but remain unrewarded. A black man in Chicago with a master's degree earns less than a white man with a high school diploma. You can't tell a man who has been to college that he's not educated enough to qualify for a job that goes to white high school dropouts. If you do, you castrate him. And the Northern black is more frustrated because the indifference of white colonialism in the North is more vicious than the paternalism of the South. The Northern industrialist doesn't have any emotional relationship with the black; he maintains only economic contact. In the North, you get white smiles while the shops are open, but the hypocritical charade is over when the shops close and whites take the money out of the ghetto. It's no coincidence that those stores are the primary targets in a riot.

"No white community in America has a majority of black police, but black communities are militarily occupied by white police."

PLAYBOY: Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty once stated on television that he thought riots were caused by the mass media. He said that blacks rioted in imitation of the disruptive behavior they saw on television and that if there had been no television coverage of Watts during the first hours of the trouble there in 1965, there would have been no riot. Do you feel that's true?

JACKSON: That's absurd. The riots are expressions of the unheard. The rioters are the mass of black people who invest hard labor on nasty chores—they are floor cleaners, shoeshine boys, hospital attendants—and they find that they have almost no share, no investment, no dividend in a R17,200.00 billion economy. Riots are a reaction to pain and a sense of hopelessness. There are black people whom no president's program has ever reached. My grandmother has lived through every president from 1900 to 1969, and the sum total of their grass-roots programs has not been able to teach her the 26 letters of the alphabet. Riots do not solve problems, but they indicate what those problems are. It is the responsibility of an aching man to tell the truth about his pain. It isn't to his advantage to give the appearance of happiness when he is hurting. In the past, we passively accepted the immoral acts of white society to prove that we were nice, decent folks, but that was our foolishness. Black folks assumed that Pharaoh was going to help them simply because it was the right thing to do. Now we know that Pharaoh's commitment is to property, not to persons. He must be made to do the right thing.

PLAYBOY: It has been alleged by some observers, however, that the riots reveal a kind of death wish on the part of blacks.

JACKSON: It's true that there is in the young generation an inclination toward nihilism. To challenge a police headquarters with a handful of bricks is a suicidal act, but it is also a blow for freedom. What the riots really reveal is the beastliness and sadism of white police. Nearly all of the people who died in riots were blacks killed by whites whose ethics dictate that nickels and dimes are more important than flesh and blood.

PLAYBOY: There are whites who say that activists such as yourself foster the riots, that without you, there'd be racial peace.

JACKSON: White folks don't want peace; they want quiet. The price you pay for peace is justice. Until there is justice, there will be no peace or quiet.

PLAYBOY: At the time of Dr. King's death, many blacks said that white America had lost its last chance to solve the race problem without destroying itself. Do you think that's true?

JACKSON: No, I don't, although I was one of the first people to make that statement. It seemed to me then that Dr. King's death ended America's last chance to be redeemed. But it is not for us to determine the chances of redemption. There are still people being born with hope, still people fighting with hope. God has not yet damned this country, though one may wonder how long the wicked will prosper. America at this point is the most violent nation in the world.

PLAYBOY: Isn't that a cliché? Don't other nations have wars and assassinations?

JACKSON: Of course. But no other nation wants so clearly to be the world's policeman. No other nation comes down so consistently on the wrong side of every revolutionary movement for liberation from tyranny. Wherever there is a rebellion, our conservative industrialists are helping to end it, whether it's in Angola or Venezuela. Any place we buy oil or rubber, or sell a little Coca-Cola and chewing gum, we've got to protect the old order. We spend R17,200 00 per second to kill the Viet Cong but only R1,500.00 per person per year to feed the hungry at home. We maintain soldiers in 20 countries around the world, yet we always talk about the Russian threat or the Chinese threat. China does not have a standing army outside of China; Russia has two. Yet we assume that someone's after us, that the "free world" is threatened simply because people want the chance to control their own economic market so they can participate in the world decision-making order. They don't want to go Communist or to crush democracy, they just want to end their serf status—and that's all blacks want here at home.

PLAYBOY: It might seem incongruous to some that you can make this sweeping indictment of America, an indictment that could easily serve as the lead paragraph in one of SDS's revolutionary pamphlets, and yet, as economic director of SCLC and leader of Operation Breadbasket, you are leading blacks who clearly want to buy into the American dream.

JACKSON: It's very simple. For all its faults, America is the only country with the capacity to save the world, even at the very moment that we seem bent on destroying it. We can produce more food, medicine, trained and educated people than anyone else. We try to export our killers, but people have stopped wanting them; they would accept our doctors, scientists and creators, but our armies are outdated. We could liberate nations from their poverty and their pestilence if our value system would allow us to do so. The irony is how close we are to being something great. One-fifth of our nation is starving, yet we have the capacity to overfeed it. We could end the starvation in India, heal the sickness in Africa. But the tragedy is that we are as close to destroying the world as we are to saving it. We spent $78.4 billion to kill this year but only R230 00 billion to heal. Those who are silent now, or are neutral now, must make a decision

before the opportunity passes forever.

PLAYBOY: Are you encouraged by the young white radicals who seem determined to change America's value system?

JACKSON: The issues that move them are qualitatively different from the ones that concern blacks. Many of the radical whites say that materialism is no good, that one must seek a new level of spiritualism. Well, we lived for years with spiritualism but without any materialism. Now we'd like to try to balance the two. Many of the young whites are living on the prerogatives of the materialism they shun. They confront their school in the winter, but in the summer, they go off to Sweden or Hawaii. Their discussions of America's corruption take place over steaks. They spend R95,600.00 a year to attend the schools they shut down. We often have the same moral ideals, but the perspective is very different.

I have also been disappointed that we were unable to get any mass help from young whites on the hunger caravan we recently concluded in Illinois. The students were so radical that feeding starving people didn't constitute revolution to them, because "a man needs to do more than eat." But while they were saying that, they were eating very well. To us, they tend to be superfluous.

PLAYBOY: Weren't the strikes at both Harvard and Columbia concerned mainly with accusations by white students that those schools abuse the black community?

JACKSON: I do not mean to condemn their creative protests. They accurately reflect Jesus's position that man cannot live by bread alone. They come from houses with boats and cars and more money than they can spend, yet they find their lives empty. There is beauty in their hearing the heartbeats of other humans. What I'm saying is that there is a lack of depth in their protest, in terms of the black community's real and immediate needs. But I think I must reserve judgment on those whites who are living off the prerogatives of wealth. If they are legitimately concerned, they will take what Daddy leaves and pay back some of that money in reparations to blacks.

PLAYBOY: Do you agree with James Forman's proposal that the churches pay reparations to blacks?

JACKSON: Yes, and eventually the demands will not be limited to the churches. The black community in America is an underdeveloped nation, a victim of America's cold war against her own black people. In that war, all of our supply lines have been cut educational, commercial, political and psychological. We've been the victims of an unjust war and are due reparations from those who launched it. Business owes us reparations, first for enslaving us, then for refusing to give us work, or hiring us for only the lowest paying, most grueling jobs. And even when we have an opportunity to do the same work as white men, we are paid less for it. The labor unions, for whom we fought, owe us reparations for locking us out. The church is also liable, because it has disregarded its own moral imperatives and cooperated in creating and maintaining a racist society.

PLAYBOY: Do you expect these demands to be met?

JACKSON: For the most part, no.

PLAYBOY: Then isn't the plea for reparations a rhetorical gesture rather than a serious proposal?

JACKSON: The demands are perfectly serious. If they were met, it would mean a great step toward unifying the two separate and unequal societies that the Kerner Commission described after it studied the Newark and Detroit riots. The point is that SCLC and I are not naïve enough to think that the businessmen who control the assets of corporations, labor unions and churches will voluntarily act from some inner moral impetus. America's god is money. God is your ultimate concern, what you give maximum sacrifice for, what you will die for. God is what you worship. The American ideal is maximum profit and minimum person; there is no impulse to share the wealth, to raise up those less fortunate. What counts is the name on the front of the building. Well, I say what counts are the hands that do the work inside.

PLAYBOY: Isn't money also one of Operation Breadbasket's major concerns?

JACKSON: Yes. It's a concern because it's a reality. But the essential purpose of Operation Breadbasket is to have blacks control the basic resources of their community. We want to control the banks, the trades, the building construction and the education of our children. This desire on our part is a defensive strategy evolved in order to stop whites from controlling our community and removing the profits and income that belong to black people.

Our programs are dictated by the private enterprise economy in which we find ourselves. In my heart, however, I know that the entire system is a corruption. To me, the Earth belongs to everybody; it's just a very successful rumor white folks have going that the Earth belongs to them. The Earth is the Lord's and no man creates anything that didn't come from other things that God put here. No man really takes anything away, either. No man can claim that he made soil or wool or milk. White folks can make airplanes, but they can't make mountains. They can make syrup but not water. Genesis says that the Lord created the Earth and everything therein and gave man, not white man, dominion over it and created a dominion sufficient for everyone to be able to survive and prosper. Now the concept of Genesis has obviously been destroyed, and it is our concern to rid America of some of her arrogance and control of God's resources by saying that the food belongs to all the people.

> "Whether we are called Operation Breadbasket or Panthers or niggers, we know who the enemy is. We'll gain freedom by being more willing to die for it than the slavemaster is to die to keep us enslaved."

PLAYBOY: Do you think farmers and suppliers should give their food away?

JACKSON: I don't care how the people get food, as long as they get it. The government can buy the food and give it away in a large-scale version of the present inadequate surplus-food and food-stamp programs. Or it can give the poor enough money to buy the food themselves.

PLAYBOY: Many middle-class whites think that the poor would only buy booze and guns if they had the money.

JACKSON: I challenge anyone with that belief to tour the reeking, rat-infested tenements of Harlem or Chicago's South Side and count the number of alcoholic welfare mothers. There won't be many. Welfare people do not account for this nation's high number of alcoholics. Nor are most guns bought by the black poor. In a home where the children are eating wall plaster because they are hungry, a gun isn't looked upon as an important commodity. But I don't care if the government wants to give out food instead of money. I would bless any device it might come up with, as long as it does something. The country is producing more food than it needs. There is inherent evil in a system that induces men to plow crops under while others starve.

Not only does the food belong to the people but the industrial profit also belongs to the people. If the employees of General Motors left tomorrow, it would have to stop. If the entire board of directors died tomorrow, nothing would stop. What's indispensable are the laborers, not the directors. The laborers can rise from the ranks and direct their fellow laborers Because they are the basic need, they ought to reap the basic benefits. But in America, about six percent of the people control the basic wealth,

and there's something infinitely demonic about that. It's no wonder that America needs the largest military in the world to protect the wealthiest super-rich class from people who would rebel against it. There's no basic conflict among the peoples of the world; Russian bus drivers aren't mad at American bus drivers. But the controlling groups are always in conflict with the people—whether it's the government of the United States, which refuses to adequately protect the poor, or the boards of directors at GM and Ford, which encourage blacks to go into debt to buy automobiles but don't allow blacks to participate in the profitable manufacture and distribution of cars

PLAYBOY: Can blacks afford to buy automobile agencies?

JACKSON: The companies will lend us the money to buy cars, which leads to profits for them only. They could lend us the money to buy agencies, but they won't because that would let us profit also.

PLAYBOY: Aren't there some black car dealers?

JACKSON: About 14 dealerships out of 28,000. We are grossly underrepresented in all areas of the economy. There are no black TV stations, for example, and only seven black radio stations. Most of the stations that are beamed toward the black community and play black music are white owned. We can't get FCC outlets, and I'm convinced that there is a conspiracy to keep us from communicating with one another on a mass scale.

PLAYBOY: Do you mean that the government fears a nationally directed riot?

JACKSON: I don't know what they think; all I know is we can't get licenses when we apply

PLAYBOY: What does Operation Breadbasket intend to do about this sort of economic underrepresentation?

JACKSON: We have the power, nonviolently, just by controlling our appetites, to determine the direction of the American economy. If black people in 30 cities said simultaneously, "General Motors, you will not sell cars in the black community unless you guarantee us a franchise here next year and help us finance it," GM would have no choice. We can affect their margin of profit by withdrawing our patronage and resisting the system instead of enduring it.

PLAYBOY: Can this really work? And, if so, why hasn't it been done already?

JACKSON: It hasn't been done because we weren't sophisticated enough to see it. This is a step that we haven't been ready to take. But it will certainly be done now, because we are organizing to do it. Black people purchase about 35 to 40 billion dollars' worth of goods each year. We represent the margin of profit in many industries. America depends on our cooperation with her economy, and we shall become the enemies of those businesses and industries that work against our interest by unfair hiring practices, by discriminating against black products, by not making investments in the ghetto to correspond with the profits taken out of it. There is an analogous situation in politics: The black people have not yet realized that we can determine who gets elected president. In 1960, it was the South Side of Chicago that turned in the vote that made John Kennedy president. The newspapers all said that Mayor Daley had once again come through with his Cook County machine, but that vote was black. The ghetto, however, has seldom voted in its own self-interest. It has even voted for black politicians who are contemptuous of blacks.

PLAYBOY: Why does the ghetto vote so inefficiently?

JACKSON: Because it's so easy to intimidate or con the poor; they have no recourse. On Election Day, the precinct worker comes around and says that if you don't vote his way, he'll have you thrown out of the housing project or he'll have your welfare check canceled. Or, if he's a benign type, he'll buy your vote with a chicken. The poor are also frightened out of coming to freedom meetings. But the poor themselves must learn that food is a right and not a privilege. We are marching to gain a subsidy for 30 million hungry Americans who represent a human resource that is more important than any of the mineral resources that this nation subsidizes.

PLAYBOY: What form would that subsidy take?

JACKSON: A guaranteed annual income based upon the government's own estimate of the amount of money people actually need to live adequate lives. They say that a family of four in a large city in the United States in 1969 requires R114,600.00 per year for minimum maintenance. If that's what's needed, then that's what they should get.

PLAYBOY: Wouldn't that be expensive, especially considering the present high tax burden?

JACKSON: The Senate committee on poverty headed by George McGovern stated, after doing field research throughout the nation, that it would cost R195.00 billion per year to feed the poor and fulfill their basic health, clothing and housing needs. I would guess that that's a low estimate. Let's double it and say that the cost would be R385.00 billion per year. That's less money than we're spending to kill the Viet Cong. It's less money than we're about to spend on the ABM system. It is less than a third of the defense budget. If we wanted men to live as much as we want to see them die, we could do it without any new taxes.

PLAYBOY: But what motivation does the government have to subsidize the poor?

JACKSON: Out of a spirit of humanity, one would hope; but that is naïve. Our job is to create enough pressure to force the government to act. It is certainly not going to do so on its own. The imbalance of Southern power in the Congress has led to important committees being headed by pathological killers and by men with public commitments to racism. These men—such as Mendel Rivers, Russell Long, Jamie Whitten and Richard Russell—are the black man's burden. The truth is that the Mafia is probably better represented in the government than blacks are. And numerous other special-interest groups are well taken care of. The situation on the agriculture committees is particularly loathsome to me because of the millions of dollars that are given away to gentleman farmers who don't farm, while children are starving. Contrast that with the Black Panthers' national breakfast program. They are serving thousands of people free food every week, and the only qualification is that the recipient be hungry. If the Panthers can serve breakfast to 3,000 children a week in Chicago or 1,500 in San Francisco, with their lack of resources, what could those cities' governments be doing if they had the same interest?

PLAYBOY: If you were the mayor of a major American city, what would you do?

JACKSON: I would declare the poor communities in a state of emergency and deal with the unemployment rate, the high mortality rate and the high T.B. rate. I would set up medicine tents on the streets, and embarrass the federal and state governments into opening up their food storehouses. I would declare war on disease and hunger. I would enlarge all the city departments that feed and heal people. The welfare of all the people would be attended to before any new golf courses or monuments or stadiums were built. I would force the government to call out the National Guard to deal with the existing injustices, which make the ghetto a permanent disaster area. There's no reason why the Army couldn't be coming down the street with bayonets, looking for slum landlords. The Army would force trade unions to allow the minority groups in. And those who did not pick up the garbage would themselves be picked up. An Army like that wouldn't have any trouble getting volunteer soldiers because it would be engaged in a relevant war.

PLAYBOY: Is that statement a reference to Vietnam?

JACKSON: Let me just say that Vietnam is not a relevant war. It is a war in which the black poor are paying with their lives to protect the investments of a small, rich elite whose Asian investments are threatened by Hanoi.

PLAYBOY: Whatever interests are being served in Vietnam, do you think that you, as a citizen, have the right to pick the wars in which you will fight and those in which you won't?

JACKSON: Of course I have that right. I must reserve the right to decide which wars are just. And I would not fight in a war that I thought was unjust. Nor would I approve of anyone else doing so.

PLAYBOY: Would you encourage drafted blacks to refuse to go to Vietnam, even if it means jail for them?

JACKSON: Yes. And whites too. Fighting in Vietnam is a step back into slavery for blacks, and into barbarism for whites. The road to jail has often been the road to freedom. Many men—Gandhi, Jomo Kenyatta, Dr. King—have learned that.

PLAYBOY: Although a disproportionate number of blacks have died

in Vietnam, there have been few blacks active in the peace movement. Why?

JACKSON: To blacks, the peace movement is a luxury that presupposes you have the time to save somebody aside from yourself. Blacks are just too occupied with their own survival. They have not even been sophisticated enough to know that they can oppose murder. A black man can be easily seduced; it's a revolution for him to go from one meal a day to three. Sometimes I think that blacks are so locked away from information that we could be duped into fighting in South Africa for apartheid, if America told us to do it. We certainly were down there shooting our Dominican brothers. I saw televised scenes of Dominicans lined up against a wall while black GIs held guns on them. But this is not because of ignorance but because of cultural suffocation and improper education.

PLAYBOY: Malcolm X once proposed the U.N. send observers into the American black community to determine if blacks were being treated humanely. Do you think that's a practical idea?

JACKSON: Only for symbolic purposes; the U.N. doesn't have any power and is subject to the American veto.

PLAYBOY: Wouldn't exercising the veto prove so embarrassing to the U.S. that it would refrain from doing so?

JACKSON: I doubt it. And the countries that one might expect to pressure America into dealing humanely with its black minority—the countries of Africa—are themselves too dependent on America's trade and financial aid to wish to antagonize her. It is not in the enlightened self-interest of those countries to rise up in indignation when we're shot up in Detroit or Watts, because we don't affect their essential relationship with the world markets or the World Bank.

PLAYBOY: Both Malcolm and Dr King worked to mobilize a world-wide conscience against racism before they were struck down. Do you share the view of some that both murders were part of a plan to deprive blacks of their leaders?

JACKSON: Not a single elaborate conspiracy, but it's clear that as we have moved closer to America's nerve center, closer to a position where we could vote men out of office, the killings have increased. And I don't think America has done anything to indicate that she is on the side of Dr. King rather than of his killers.

"Riots do not solve problems, but they indicate what those problems are. It is the responsibility of an aching man to tell the truth about his pain. It isn't to his advantage to give the appearance of happiness when he is hurting."

PLAYBOY: You used the plural. Don't you think that James Earl Ray acted alone?

JACKSON: I would be surprised if it wasn't a conspiracy involving many others.

PLAYBOY: Do you have any evidence to support that belief?

JACKSON: I think the circumstances were very suspicious. As you know, I was with Dr. King when the assassin's bullet was fired. We were talking with Operation Breadbasket's music director, Ben Branch, about songs for the next day's rally. Dr. Abernathy, Andy Young, James Bevel and Bernard Lee were very near. When Dr. King was shot, I hit the ground, along with the others. We scrambled toward the steps where he was and I looked back over my shoulder, because I was afraid that more shots were going to be fired. I saw so many police coming from the direction of the shot that I actually threw up my hands, thinking that the shot had come from one of them and that I was going to be killed too. There were hundreds of police in the area, some jumping from the hill where the shot had come from. I tried to tell them that the bullet came from that way.

Now, the hotel that Ray was in—if Ray was the killer—is next door to the fire department. With the shot having been fired and all those police in the area, the usual thing during an emergency in a Southern town would be for a siren to go off that stops the lights and traffic on Main Street, where the hotel is. It was six o'clock in the afternoon, the busiest time for traffic, and it all could have been brought to a halt. But no siren went off, traffic wasn't stopped and Ray escaped through downtown Memphis. The distance he subsequently traveled indicates to me that he didn't do it by himself and that he may have had some very highly placed help. But, of course, finding Dr. King's killers is secondary to getting at the roots of America's violent atmosphere—an atmosphere in which you conform or are broken, in which you take your subordinate place in the industrial hierarchy or are destroyed.

PLAYBOY: What do you think Dr. King would be doing if he were alive today?

JACKSON: Dr. King would still be dealing with the problem of finding a job for everybody; he would still be raising the questions of medical care for everybody, of a full-employment economy. He would still be on the basic issues, still be pointing out the stupidity of the war. He would be in general conflict with Nixon. He would still, as we say, be on the case.

PLAYBOY: Will there ever be another black leader as important as Dr. King?

JACKSON: I don't think so, though, of course, no man can say. But it was Dr. King who crossed the frontier, who made a permanent break with the past. I grew up in the period from 1955 to 1965, and that time was dominated by his courage and strength, as opposed to the previous mass docility of black men. Dr. King was a surprise for a lot of whites who had conned themselves into believing that Negroes were really inferior. He was intelligent, moral, eloquent and courageous. The contrast of his eloquence with the lack of it in those whites he was forced to deal with gave us a rallying point. Even more important was the way he stood up to white military power in the South. Dr. King wasn't afraid of the cop's billy stick, guns or dogs. He overcame the stigma of jail cells; in fact, he dignified the jail cell and wrote great words from it. He was willing to die for black people, and finally did die, not on some lofty mountainside or in the company of ambassadors but kissing garbage men, trying to set them free.

PLAYBOY: In the weeks before he died, did Dr. King express any particular optimism or pessimism about the future of the movement?

JACKSON: He expressed both. SCLC was at that time involved in making its decision about the Poor Peoples' Campaign in Washington, D. C., that ultimately led to Resurrection City. Many of Dr. King's friends and some board members said that we should not go to Washington because of the possibility of a riot. The final decision was his. He was going through a bad time and he showed it at one of the last staff meetings he would ever attend. He was despairing that morning and Andy Young tried to tell him to relax, that things were going to get better. And Dr. King told Andy, "Don't say 'Peace, peace' when there is no peace. The country is swinging to the right and our president is obsessed with the war. Maybe I ought to turn around," he said. But then he stopped, and when he continued, his voice was more firm. "But we've gone too far to turn around. There were dark days during the sit-ins, and in Selma and Birmingham. We've come too far."

Then he changed again. "But I'm still disturbed by the division in the country. Maybe I ought to just fast. And when I get to the point of death, perhaps we could have a summit meeting of blacks. Maybe that would bring us together." But then he seemed to resolve the argument in his mind. He said, "I've seen where we've got to go. We are going to fight the good fight; we are going to liberate our brothers and raise up the poor. We're not going to turn around. It's all very clear to me now." And I think Dr. King at that moment was as sure as he had ever been of the ultimate victory of his movement. Once you've been to the mountaintop, it doesn't matter if James Earl Ray is in the bushes waiting for you.

PLAYBOY: Do you share Dr. King's vision?

JACKSON: In my stronger moments, I have no doubts. I'm even able to love those who persecute me. There must be some force that's committed to redemption, even though it's painful. The alternative is that we

will destroy ourselves—"die together as fools," as Dr. King said once. He and Gandhi and Jesus reached a spiritual state that liberates the self. Dr. King did not represent ordinary men. That's what made people love him so much. But what finally happens to the extraordinary men is what happened to Jesus. We admire them but we don't follow them, and finally we kill them because they become such a threat to us.

PLAYBOY: In what way?

JACKSON: Most of us cannot live up to the ideal of the noble and virtuous. Such men make us aware that we must settle for the real and the expedient. We are diminished by their purity, which is a threat to our self-esteem. The idealist keeps our consciences awake, but the pressure on our conscience is so great that it can be relieved only by murder.

PLAYBOY: Dr. King was criticized for placing too much emphasis on conscience. David Halberstam wrote that Dr. King left Chicago in 1966, for example, because he could not inspire a moral consciousness, and Mayor Daley was able to dissipate his campaign with high-sounding but unspecific resolutions. Do you think that Dr. King was too concerned with the moral rather than the tactical aspects of the civil rights movement?

JACKSON: No, I think that even as recently as 1966, Dr. King was correctly analyzing his problem as the need to change the psyche of the black man. You couldn't impress black folks unless you impressed white folks first. Dr. King had to make the movement as large as possible in white eyes to get respect for blacks. I think that we are inclined to lose perspective on how much things have changed since 1955. There was no black consciousness then. Dr. King was dealing with "Negroes" put quotes around that whose minds, desires, ambitions and images were white inspired. Aretha Franklin couldn't have made it in 1955. It was Dr. King who moved the "Negro" farther and farther out; and the farther he got from that white shore, the blacker he became.

Dr. King had the most national influence of any black leader, and his concern was to change national policy. The strategy was always to form a coalition of conscience between the black community and a segment of the white community. An issue had to be defined along moral lines, because the white community will split on the basis of moral against immoral, liberal against conservative. Without that white help, there is no chance for us to have an impact on national policies. Dr. King used to point out that there is not a black college in the country that could remain open six months on black contributions. That's a reality we must face. Even now, there is no civil rights organization of any consequence that functions on black money.

> "White folks don't want peace; they want quiet. The price you pay for peace is justice. Until there is justice, there will be no peace or quiet."

PLAYBOY: Does Operation Breadbasket accept white money?

JACKSON: SCLC accepts any money, and it finances us. But we get more black money out of Chicago than any other civil rights organization has ever gotten out of the black community

PLAYBOY: What does SCLC think of white participation in the leadership of Breadbasket and other programs?

JACKSON: We discourage it. We need and want to encourage the technical and financial aid of whites in the civil rights movement, but we should make our own decisions. Whites should spend their physical energy liberating white America, because white folks need someone to help them understand blacks or they're going to continue to be paralyzed by their paranoia. Whites suffer from nightmares and irrational anxiety. When a black family moves onto a white street, the white girls are not magically impregnated by a black boy. Those fears are unreal. But whites do not allow enough communication with blacks to learn the truth. So other white folks must defend our humanity, even though our skin color is different and our hair grows differently and we have a different heritage.

PLAYBOY: Why is there a preoccupation now with black studies and Afro styles?

JACKSON: The so-called natural movement is simply trying to say that I may not know who I am psychologically and historically, but I'm not going to be defined by white folks any longer. I want to see how I'd look if I just grew. If I didn't use anything white folks gave me to fancy myself up with, what would I look like? Most of us have never given ourselves a chance to find out. We're in search of our existence as a new people—Afro-American. White people forced us to suppress our beauty: now we want to glorify it. The fact that our natural selves conflict with the comfortable, stereotyped white image of the black man is not our problem.

PLAYBOY: But this new emphasis on blackness seems to lead to some paradoxical situations. In spite of the need for expanded opportunities for blacks to attend college, a number of strikes were initiated last year by black college students who demanded black-studies programs at their schools. Are black-studies programs so important that it's worth closing down a school to get them?

JACKSON: I think so. History plays a large role in a people's growth. The white man took away our history because it was one more way for him to control us. Without a group identity, we had no group loyalty; we were separated from our past to make it easier to control us in the present. It is one thing to see ourselves as a people only 300 years old, born as slaves and moving toward freedom. But, in fact, our forebears date back to the origin of man, and we have always been a creative and productive people; we were enslaved, but now we are returning to freedom—and it's good to come back home. We need the pride and dignity of knowing that we are part of a great continuum. Anthropologists say that mankind originated in Africa. We are the people who carved out the great civilizations of Kush, Songhai, Ghana and Mali. We smelted iron; we mined copper and gold. For us to know this is to know that we can look forward to a great destiny.

PLAYBOY: It's the idea of exclusively black studies that bothers many white people. Other ethnic groups don't have special study programs, do they?

JACKSON: But they do, and the schools recognize them as such. If you are an Italian, for instance, your history courses will cover the entire history of early Rome and then Renaissance Italy, and they will stress the worth of the Italian contributions. But no ancient-history courses emphasize the blackness of the great early civilizations. And American-history courses generally ignore the black man. If the schools had done their job, they wouldn't have the problems they are now confronted with—and richly deserve.

PLAYBOY: Many athletes and entertainers—Bill Cosby, for example—have adopted Afro hair and clothing styles; but aside from this sort of symbolic identification, do you think successful blacks have been as involved as they should be with the movement?

JACKSON: I think the symbolism is important; it shows a new sensitivity. The black athletes and entertainers who are wearing natural hair styles and Afro clothes are specifically defying the white measurement apparatus. But the fact is that the black artist has never been as far away from the black community as the white press sometimes portrays him. Every black man, for example, knows where Sammy Davis' heart is. The black entertainer moves into a white community because the houses are bigger and better there. He is just taking advantage of a new freedom. Historically, the black athlete and entertainer have been in a precarious position where, if they overidentified with the racial situation, they couldn't play in the major night clubs, couldn't get into a movie or were blackballed from a league. Black athletes who take a militant position on the race problem endanger their jobs, even though teams are dependent on their participation. Jackie Robinson broke into baseball in 1945. In 1969, blacks dominate the game. The stars of the National Basketball Association are nearly all black, as are many in the National Football League. But we'd be doing

even better in sports if there were not still some discrimination there.

PLAYBOY: What kind of discrimination?

JACKSON: Before I entered college, I was offered a contract to pitch for the Chicago White Sox. They wanted to give me less money to sign than the white boys I was striking out. I'm sure that's generally true, and many black boys can't afford to leave the farm or the factory to try to make it with a team. More indicative of the racism still alive in sports is the fact that in all of major-league baseball, there isn't one black executive or manager.

PLAYBOY: If a black baseball player clearly shows himself to be managerial material, don't you think he'll get a shot at a manager's job?

JACKSON: What does that mean? Is every white manager "managerial material"? Then how come they're always being fired? In America, a white man, no matter how dumb, is expected to boss a black man; but no black man, no matter how highly qualified, is allowed to give orders to a white man. If a white ballplayer like Eddie Stanky is argumentative and aggressive, he's considered fiery. Therefore, he's a managerial prospect. But Jackie Robinson was fiery as hell, only they called it arrogance. He was an "uppity nigger." When Robinson left baseball, his accumulated knowledge about running bases, pitching, hitting and fielding went with him. It was a waste of a great baseball mind.

PLAYBOY: You seem to be saying that unless a black man is docile, he can't survive; yet the mood of young blacks—including you—is anything but docile. Haven't the times changed?

JACKSON: We have changed; I don't know about the times. White society still tries to impose a different code of behavior on blacks than on whites. What to me is an expression of confidence is to white folks an expression of defiance. The country is so used to black people smiling and bowing and acting unsure of themselves that when whites meet someone who confronts them and challenges their standards, they make harsh judgments. Now things are changing so fast that the hostility of white society toward a black man may lead to respect for him from the black community. For a white man to embrace you is for a black man to hold you suspect.

"No other nation comes down so consistently on the wrong side of every revolutionary movement for liberation from tyranny. Wherever there is a rebellion, our conservative industrialists are helping to end it."

PLAYBOY: You have been accused of cynically manipulating that new mood in your personal choice of dress and hair style. Do you think that if you didn't wear sideburns and a dashiki, but dressed conservatively and looked somewhat like a young Martin Luther King, that you could make it as a black leader today?

JACKSON: Style—whether it's Afro or Ivy League—isn't crucial. Hell, there are kids around who look like Ché Guevara, but they still need their mommas to get them across the street. Because of all the losses we have suffered, black people are looking for winners; that's the only way to get their respect. And a winner is someone who successfully defies white America. The reason Joe Louis will always be respected in the black community is that at a time when other blacks couldn't even talk back to white people, Joe Louis was beating them up, knocking them down and making them bleed. When I do a TV show, I'm aware that every black watching is scoring me against the white opposition, as if I were in a fight. Every black man who has won the loyalty of his community has indicated some expression of defiance for the white man. Malcolm X is a good example. He could look Whitey straight in the eye and tell him he was lying. And Malcolm showed that even the most brutalized experience could be overcome.

PLAYBOY: You obviously don't agree with those who felt that Malcolm was a disruptive force.

JACKSON: Malcolm had become an apostle of peace after his trips to the Near East. America has a knack for killing her men of peace, while men of war continue to thrive. Malcolm's death also pointed up the futility of thinking in exclusively white-black terms. Blacks killed Malcolm, just as a black man betrayed Marcus Garvey and a black woman once tried to stab Dr. King. Black is not always good, just as white is not always bad. We confirmed that lesson at Resurrection City, where white Appalachians shared the mud with us while some blacks on U Street were asking The Man to run us out of town. And it was a black woman who started many of Adam Powell's troubles.

PLAYBOY: The consensus among white liberals is that Adam Powell deserved his fate—and that he was a hindrance to the civil rights movement. Do you disagree?

JACKSON: Absolutely. First of all, and to set the record straight, as head of the House Education and Labor Committee, Adam Powell was responsible for passing over 60 pieces of significant social legislation—more than any other of his virtuous colleagues have ever done. But Adam is even more important, for a depressed black psyche, as a defier of white rules. Something happened to my dad in World War II that illustrates this. He was serving in France and Strom Thurmond came to speak to his all-black regiment. The Senator's message was that they were there to fight the War, that they were not to bother any women; they were to know their place. In other words, it was all right for my father to risk his life to serve America, but he was still a nigger. So when Adam Powell walked down the halls of Congress with two white women on his arm, just the outrageous defiance of it gave us gratification. The appeal of that defiance will never be lost.

PLAYBOY: That story touches on the strong sexual aspect of racism. Both Malcolm X and Eldridge Cleaver have expressed elaborate theories in which white sexual fears are cited as a fundamental cause of race hatred. Do you agree?

JACKSON: Although sex is a crucial underlying cause of prejudice and racial hatred, it is not relevant to the black liberation movement. We will not allow the white man's sexual problem to stand in the way of our freedom.

PLAYBOY: Can you just ignore it?

JACKSON: Let me explain it with some awful history. In the South, when a slave ran away thereby expressing his manhood and independence—and he was caught, the punishment for his first offense was whipping or branding. If he ran away again, which was the clearest way for him to assert himself, his punishment was likely to be castration. The slave was told that he was inferior, less than human and completely unappealing to the white woman; but The Man still castrated him. That says a lot about the psychosexual dilemma of the Southern white male. The other part of that dilemma was that because of his fear of black men, the white man had to desensitize white women. The white woman had to spiritually kill herself. For a white woman to see Jim Brown and not think of him as an attractive male means that the nerves are dead within her being. She dehumanized herself, because white men wanted it that way. But when the white man destroyed his relationship with his women, he got his satisfaction from the pursuit of money. So the white man perverted himself and his women.

If some great psychoanalyst had emerged 300 years ago, he might have solved some of the white man's problems and prevented the brutalization of blacks by whites. But we were not rescued, and the intervening 300 years have served to diminish the importance of sexual antagonisms and replace them with a more crippling form of racism. Today, racism is integrated into the ideology of capitalism. I said that the sexual aspect is irrelevant because even if sexual tensions disappeared tomorrow, capitalism would still require a racist ideology in order to maintain a cheap labor base. Racism provides a mechanism by which the slave-master assures that society will have a ready supply of inferiors who can serve as slaves. Racism is as important to America's domestic colonialism as it was to foreign colonialism; it is an excuse to exploit and enslave a people because they have been defined as inferior. Colonialism is not built upon emo-

tions; it is built upon behavior patterns that are designed to get a profit.

PLAYBOY: Do you think, as some revolutionaries do, that capitalism will have to be destroyed in order to end racism?

JACKSON: It is futile for us to think about ending racism; that is a psychological problem that seems beyond our attempts to affect it. We are fighting to end colonialism—oppression and exploitation. That requires power. The civil rights movement is a lifetime struggle for power. A man who is impotent, no matter how courteous and pleasant looking he is, is told to wait in the lobby. But if you have power, you can be an illiterate boor with tobacco juice running down your face and they will open the door for you. As I said earlier, we are going to organize to exert power on the big corporations. We are going to see to it that the resources of the ghetto are not siphoned off by outside groups. Right now, black exterminating companies don't even get the contracts to kill the ghetto's rats. But that's going to change. If a building goes up in the black community, we're going to build it. And we're going to stop anyone else from building it. If we can't get into those construction unions, they're not going to get into our neighborhoods.

PLAYBOY: But other neighborhoods don't control their business according to ethnic separation. They try to become part of what is traditionally called the American melting pot.

JACKSON: I hear that melting-pot stuff a lot, and all I can say is that we haven't been melted. We've been getting burned on the bottom of the pot. We don't want anything that's different from the experience of the other ethnic groups. If you go into an Irish neighborhood, most of the businesses are run by Irishmen. The same is true in a Chinese or Jewish or Italian neighborhood. The difference between all of them and us is that they are all separate and independent groups, while we are separate and dependent. We want to control the vital elements of our lives: the school boards, the churches, the businesses, the police. The other groups are separate and control themselves, but they are separate and control us as well. That is a colonial situation. And the slums will exist as long as the colonists continue to turn a profit on them. As in any other revolution, we must fight for our independence.

"For all its faults, America is the only country with the capacity to save the world, even at the very moment that we seem bent on destroying it."

PLAYBOY: But Dr. King once said that his aim was to "break open the city," so that ultimately there would be no separate black and white communities. Have you forsaken that goal?

JACKSON: No. But we recognize that a major part of the black community must first gravitate around itself, as other ethnic groups have done. In these areas, where our living together provides collective security, we ought to have the right to control it. But just as we have the private right to stay where we choose, we should also have the public right to participate in the public arena the way other people do. A man should choose where he wants to live, based on his income, or the fact that a house is close to his job, or because there's a good school nearby; he should not be refused because of his color. He should not be afraid of being bombed out by white bigots or of being harassed by police when he returns from work.

PLAYBOY: Aren't the open-housing laws changing this?

JACKSON: No. There is still segregation. In Chicago, blacks are 30 percent of the population, but they live on 10 percent of the land. That congestion is inhuman and a prime target for exploitation by slumlords. People are cramped in body and spirit, and those who can't afford it are paying more for the space in which they live. We are locked away from the resources of the community. Black children who are sick are untended and left to play in their own filth in understaffed, ill-equipped hospitals. Four- and five-year-olds who were lucky enough to enter Head Start programs substantially raised their learning capacity, only to have it fall again as soon as they entered public school. Yet the teachers call the children incompetent. We have no choice about schools and hospitals, because public mobility is denied us. When a white mother decides to move because her neighborhood doesn't serve the needs of her children, the broker asks her where she would like to live; when a black mother faces that problem, she knows where she can live—and where she can't.

In white communities, there are about 3,000 people per square mile; in the ghetto, there are 30,000 people in each square mile. The overcrowding produces bent and perverted people. They are made to suffer so much pain that they feel no need to conserve themselves or their neighborhoods, so they decide to destroy. These are the unheard—until they riot.

PLAYBOY: The majority of those who have participated in riots are in their teens or early 20s. Why?

JACKSON: These kids have an awful lot of reasons for hating America. Their experiences with the dominant culture are nearly all negative; whether it be in school or a courtroom or applying for a job, they are being either deprived or discriminated against. This sense of resentment is acute, and it's just a matter of time before they give up on themselves and this country. Many of them already have. If Richard Nixon really cared about America's future, he'd be showing up at Operation Breadbasket meetings and offering to join us in the fight to reclaim these kids' minds and souls, because they are going to have a large effect on that future. He might at least give us equal time and attention with the moon shot.

PLAYBOY: Weren't you impressed by the moon landing as a scientific achievement?

JACKSON: The only thing that moon shot did for me was turn my stomach. I was in a migrant worker's shack in Georgia a few weeks before the launch. It was about 115 degrees inside in the daytime. It had no toilet—not even an outhouse. No refrigerator, no running water. There was greasy butcher's paper over the space where there should have been windows. The shack was temporary residence for a family of four and they actually paid rent for it. If they hadn't rented it, they wouldn't have been allowed to work the harvest. They were all hungry. The kids' bodies were bloated and discolored. And they suffered from worms. This was good time for these people. When the harvest ends, they have to move on and they have nowhere to go. That Sunday night of the moon walk, in my mind's eye, I could see those poor, broken people walking four miles to the company store to watch the two astronauts jump around. Each step Armstrong took cost enough money to feed that family for 100 years.

America has spent R1,100.00 billion since 1957 for the ego gratification of planting her flag on top of everyone else. One-tenth of that was spent in the same period to inadequately feed the hungry. The psychological state of this nation is revealed by the fact that the men whose egos are swelled by putting a flag on a dead rock would not feel the slightest sense of accomplishment from the more humane task of feeding hungry people.

PLAYBOY: Are you encouraged by Nixon's proposals about black capitalism?

JACKSON: Not very much. It is a limited vision to make a few people rich, whereas SCLC's Poor Peoples' Campaign proposes a decent economic base for all people. Dr. King died talking about raising the level of dignity for all men. The difference between Dr. King and Mr. Nixon is the difference between a prophet and a politician. I don't believe the government has plans for the extensive development of the black community. If it did, then the Job Corps would not have been curtailed recently. Even more serious is the government's lack of understanding of the problems of the potential black businessman and its failure to develop programs to help him.

PLAYBOY: White businessmen object to such demands on the grounds

that blacks don't deserve government considerations that aren't extended also to whites.

JACKSON: The government aids white businesses all the time—in the areas in which they are endangered. It subsidizes airlines and railroads. It sets up tariffs to protect textile businesses from cheap foreign imports. The black man is endangered as a businessman because of his substandard education, and the government should be offering technical and advisory services to blacks.

PLAYBOY: What kind of services?

JACKSON: There are some basic areas where the black businessman can use government help. One is feasibility studies that will tell a man if his idea is sound. Another, of course, is capital, which should be lent according to the soundness of a business idea, rather than withheld reflexively in accordance with impossibly strict notions of what constitutes "a bad risk." If a black man came up with the idea for the next generation's Xerox, he probably couldn't get the money to develop it. Next, the government should help him get his foot in the market's door, so that the black man can at least have a fair chance. This is one area in which Operation Breadbasket has been very successful; we've gotten chain stores such as Jewel and A & P to give shelf space to black products. Then the government should provide real vocational training. Even if a black kid, who never intends to go to college, graduates from high school, he can't fix the wiring in the house, can't run a machine, can't lay a brick. And the vocational training should apply also to those who are already running a black business. We helped increase a black man's business from R229,400.00 to R3,057,600.00 in four months. But he couldn't grow with it. He had to pull his business back down to the size of his mind; he had to feel the money, count it in his hands. He couldn't handle a balance sheet, couldn't write notes for working capital before his receipts came in. That man can't go to Harvard Business School—but if the Small Business Administration and President Nixon were serious, there'd be an operation Head Start for the black entrepreneur. The way it is now, a black with talent has to choose to work in the security of a big white company. And his sapped spirit will never produce anything on its own. Black businesses, on the other hand, are a step on the road to freedom. Black products are a focus for a pride in black ability. We can't just consume what the white folks decide to make for us. Consumption leads to fatness, but production leads to freedom. A producer is free to make decisions, but a man who only consumes is a prisoner whose decisions are made by others.

PLAYBOY: Breadbasket's aims, if fulfilled, seem likely to create more middle-class blacks. Do you think there will be strong class divisions between black middle and lower classes as the former get farther away from the ghetto?

JACKSON: I don't think we will have significant class divisions. No matter how wealthy he gets, the black man can rarely buy a house where he wants to; he is still subject to the whim of any white policeman who doesn't like his looks; he is still going to be tried, if accused of a crime, by a jury of his white nonpeers. And these facts bind him firmly with his destitute brother.

PLAYBOY: How do you feel about the young militants' derisive notion that every successful black is an Uncle Tom?

JACKSON: I think it's important to be sensitive to who Uncle Tom is Uncle Tom is not our enemy. He grew up in the ghetto; he went to bad schools. He's a successful black hustler who bends and smiles before the white man in order to provide for his children. He's not a man who sits around thinking up ways to hurt black people. There's nothing wrong with a Southern boy who grew up in a shack with an outhouse wanting a real home. The jobs we once picketed to get are now being derided as Uncle Tom jobs. But the black bourgeoisie is still very close to the roots, if for no other reason than the fact that in the colonial system, he can't get too far. Blacks don't move to white society for joy, fulfillment, good music or tasty meals. They move to get away from bad schools and apartments where the trash isn't collected. They aren't moving away from blacks but from the rats.

PLAYBOY: Are you saying that there's no disunity among blacks?

JACKSON: There is an unfortunate division among blacks now that is set off by a certain self-righteousness, a competition for being the blackest. But we must never forget that Nat Turner was middle class, as were Frederick Douglass and Dr. King—and even Stokely Carmichael. We will not be trapped into glorifying ignorance and poverty. That will not improve the lives of black people.

PLAYBOY: Do you agree with young radicals who feel that blacks who are assimilated into the economy will become new cogs in the corporate machine?

JACKSON: We want to create a new value system that will produce a generation of black liberators, not exploiters. You can't ask a black man not to work because America's value system is perverted. But I would hope that when the black man gets a job in a company that is part of the military-industrial complex, he will organize in a union that is as concerned with basic values as it is with decent wages. Instead of producing war matériel for an unjust and immoral war, the union could pressure the company into producing goods that will help and heal people. The virtuous and vicious aspects of our economy are interrelated. We produce more food and clothing and guns—than we need; we have the capacity to save more people from malice and disease than any other nation in the history of the world, and to kill more people than any other nation in the history of the world. No one attacks our ability to build X-ray machines or washing machines. Our national priorities are the real problem.

PLAYBOY: Can blacks change them?

JACKSON: This is the challenge of Operation Breadbasket. The businessmen we help, for example, are discouraged from getting rich and leaving the ghetto. We develop profit sharing; we try to make it our company as much as the owner's. We encourage a dialog between owner and employee, and we encourage participatory democracy

PLAYBOY: Can Breadbasket help blacks outside the ghetto as well as within it?

JACKSON: Yes. Let me give you an example of how it can work a case of real soul power, where blacks had the integrity to stick out a crisis and aid one another over thousands of miles. When the most recent Voting Rights Bill was passed, black Alabama farmers found that they weren't able to find markets for their products anymore. Whites were retaliating for their new political power. On top of that, George Wallace prevented them from borrowing money, so they couldn't expand economically, because of the combined pressures of racism and capitalism. There were 1,500 of them—all farming small plots. Instead of quitting, they formed the Southwest Alabama Farmers' Cooperative. They planted and harvested their crops and then brought them to Chicago. We at Breadbasket then went to the supermarkets in the ghetto and told the owners that they would either put the brothers' products on the shelves or face boycotts. They accepted the produce. The brothers in Alabama could farm there and have an open outlet in Chicago. We were able to do this out of a sense of "peoplehood." That's my kind of black nationalism blacks helping one another on a national scale.

PLAYBOY: Isn't it one of the great fears of Southern whites that blacks—who outnumber them—will usurp their place in society if they ever win enough economic and political power?

JACKSON: The problem here is that the poor white and the poor black have mutual fear. Poor blacks fear that if poor whites aren't eliminated, they won't be able to eat, and the poor whites feel just the same way in reverse. The historical difference is that poor whites in the South have controlled the police and the military and have thereby maintained power over the blacks. We in the Poor Peoples' Campaign believe that the basic anxiety of whites is an irrational fear of extermination—a fear that can be removed with a guaranteed income, with guaranteed medical care and education. Dr. King was firm in his resolve that black power must be secondary to peoples' power. When the economic base of all the people is raised, racism will decline. As the Poor Peoples' Campaign gets stronger, racism will lose its hold on the consciousness of the white poor.

PLAYBOY: Do you honestly think, as Dr King did, that there's going to be a movement of the poor that will include whites, blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans and Indians?

JACKSON: It's inevitable. If our good sense doesn't connect us through

affirmation, then America's greed will lock us together by negation. False racial pride has divided the lower class, but we must stop defining and separating ourselves because of skin color. We should define ourselves by our economic position and shift the fight from a horizontal confrontation of poor black versus poor white to a confrontation of "have" versus "have not." Dr. King could have been the suture that connected the various bones of the bottom classes. Just two weeks before his assassination, there was a meeting of a dozen representative ethnic groups in SCLC's Atlanta office. That was the beginning of something really new, and it is continuing. For just one example, Dr. Abernathy marched with Cézar Chávez and Operation Breadbasket supports the grape strike as if it were our own project, by boycotting and picketing. Jewel Tea and other stores where California table grapes are sold.

PLAYBOY: But do you really think that the white poor are going to join you?

JACKSON: The white poor have always been distracted from demanding their rights; they've been too embarrassed to admit their deprivation. They've nourished themselves on the meager psychic diet of racism. But during the Illinois Hunger Campaign, we offered poor whites food and they digested it. In East St. Louis, Illinois, a white man named Hicks addressed a congregation of hunger marchers. Mr. Hicks has nine children and works five and six shifts of day labor a week but still can't make enough to feed his family or even to put a shack over their heads. Mr. Hicks and his family were taken in by black folks. They shared equally, and it was the first time in his life, he said, that he felt any sense of security. There are a lot more Mr. Hickses out there who just haven't realized yet that they don't have to suffer alone, that a massive cooperative effort by the poor class is the only answer. United in a class struggle, we can force the redistribution of wealth in America.

PLAYBOY: The idea of class war, hot or cold, has always been associated with the theories of socialism. Do you think of yourself as a socialist?

JACKSON: I adhere to the ideals of my religion—that the earth is the Lord's and its food was intended for all men. The trend of the world today—in Sweden, Guinea and Britain, for example—is toward some form of democratic socialism, where men eat because the ground is fertile. America stands in conflict with that trend by allowing a few people to control and distribute the food, rather than letting people eat because they are living. The truth, of course, is that this same America, where socialism is such a dirty word, is already operating in a sophisticated state of socialism for the rich, while the poor live in a crude state of classic capitalism.

PLAYBOY: Please explain that.

JACKSON: The people in this society who follow the Protestant ethic and work long hours by the sweat of their brow are the poor. They work at the hardest jobs and often still don't get enough money to pass the poverty level. Even when they try to break out, it's an attempt to start a street-corner business, where the rules of classic capitalism prevail. The poor storekeeper, for example, doesn't control his market through advertising; he can't float a bond issue and use other people's money to run his business. But the rich man has socialism. We've got 6,536 farmers in this country who receive R477,800.00 not to work. That's socialism. The campuses expand, chopping pieces of land out of black neighborhoods, with the financial help of the National Education Act. Even wealthy schools for rich men's sons are state supported. The interstate highway program, none of which benefits those who can't afford a car, is 90 percent federally financed. There wouldn't be a trucking industry without government help. The list is endless and includes the oil companies and their depletion allowance, the railroads, the airlines and airports, the power companies. The rich talk about tax shelters and tariff protections, while the poor talk about sweat and blood.

PLAYBOY: But isn't welfare a form of socialism for the poor?

JACKSON: As it now stands, welfare is a form of humiliation. It is demeaning and dehumanizing. Men use money; welfare recipients use stamps. Men have privacy; welfare recipients have no privacy and can be visited any time of day or night. Their most intimate relationships can be called into question by people who are indifferent to them. Instead of abusing the poor, this nation has to understand that the welfare recipient is a product of the success of our economy. The unskilled black man whose job has been lost to technology today will be joined shortly by the unskilled white man whose job will be lost to the next technological advance. Either we see these men as having been freed by technology, perhaps to fulfill a creative role, or we see these men as having worked hard only to find themselves enslaved in poverty by the same technology. Whichever perspective one has, we must evolve a subsidy that will preserve these precious human lives, not destroy them as welfare has.

PLAYBOY: Were you encouraged by President Nixon's new welfare proposals?

JACKSON: I was thoroughly discouraged. I watched Nixon the night he delivered that welfare address. My anger was tempered only by my incredulity at the immensity of his con job. He lied for nearly an hour and didn't even crack a smile. He asked the country to think of him as a great humanitarian, but we weren't fooled. Behind all those promises is the single fact that the states are going to retain control of most of the Nixon program. When the states had the power, black people couldn't vote, couldn't ride in the front of a bus, couldn't drink from any public water fountain, couldn't use any John they wanted. Now Nixon says to Thurmond and Stennis, "Take care of them poor folks." Right this minute, there are 40 states violating the welfare laws. We don't need a redistribution of welfare-disbursement stations in this country; we need a redistribution of wealth. The president challenged the poor to go to work, without saying what he would do to improve the lot of those who can't work. I'll be encouraged when the president challenges the rich to show their humanity and grant to the poor their basic rights as human beings

PLAYBOY: The white lower-middle class is becoming quite vocal about its opposition to welfare in any form for those they characterize as too lazy to work. What's your reaction?

JACKSON: The fact is that the poor work the hardest and have always done so. We made cotton king, cooked other people's food when we had none of our own, stooped to clean bathrooms. Now we are unskilled, because the schools don't teach us, because less money is spent on the education of blacks than is spent on whites. A state of despair has set in for those in the black community who have been told no too often, and perhaps they can never be healed. When white people say they know a man on welfare who is too lazy to work, I say that may be so. But the man they see is a dried-up prune. I ask them, "Did you see that man when he was a boy? Did you see him when he said, 'Momma, do you have a piece of bread?' Did you see him before hope was snuffed out by despair?" The white middle class is paying less tax money to support welfare mothers than it is to support the farm industry. I don't hear them complaining about that. The bulk of their tax money goes to subsidizing the rich and fighting wars abroad—wars fought by the sons of welfare mothers, not by the middle-class kids who go to college. The middle class invests in America with its tax dollars, but the poor have to invest their lives.

PLAYBOY: Is it possible to raise a family on the funds provided by welfare? Many claim it isn't.

JACKSON: Let me put it this way: If I give you 22 cents for a meal, you know pretty well what you're going to get to eat. I thought I knew what poverty was all about until I went on our hunger campaign. I saw children eating red clay. Doctors call it pica when people who don't get sufficient food eat things that have the appearance of food. I saw a mother give her child saltines and onions for breakfast and send her off to school on that. I saw a white mother with four kids, one of whom, a boy, had leukemia. He drank all the milk the family was allotted on a food-stamp supplement, and it wasn't enough even for him. She took him everywhere in a little wagon, the kind kids play with. He was frail and helpless, and the mother was exhausted; the entire family looked bloodless and frightened, as if they would never have a moment's joy. I can understand why they might feel that way, living as they must with the fact that there is a ceiling on the welfare allotment but no ceiling on the rent or the food prices or the amount of tragedy a family can suffer. The insufficient welfare funds are especially damaging to babies. Eighty percent of the brain develops during the three months immediately before birth and the first three years of life. The minds of welfare children, who cannot get enough to eat, are stricken early.

PLAYBOY: Why don't welfare allowances provide adequate support?

JACKSON: Welfare allotments tend to be about one-third of the minimal standard of living as defined by the government. In Texas, New York and California this year, even that meager appropriation was cut. Furthermore, rents and food prices are higher in poor areas than in middle-class areas, so the poor must spend more, even though they have less. The result of this deprivation is that the black child goes to school without breakfast, cannot afford lunch at school and cannot look forward to a decent supper at night. His hunger is such a distraction that he is not motivated to learn. All of these elements combine to place him farther and farther behind in school. He has no goals, no hero images, no sense of purpose or identity. He is physically weaker than his white contemporaries and probably sickly, because he doesn't get medical care.

PLAYBOY: Earlier, you referred to the dominance of professional sports by black athletes. That doesn't fit with the image of physical weakness you just presented.

JACKSON: Some men will thrive even in a prison camp, so it isn't surprising that you'll find an occasional black youth who overcomes his poverty. But the important reason for the dominance of black athletes is that a high proportion of black men—both those who ate well and those who didn't—directed themselves toward athletics because the field was more open to them than any other. More blacks tried to be boxers because there was no point in trying to be a bookkeeper or a mathematician. A black man whose mind might have had great aptitude for math wouldn't have been trained by a ghetto school. It made more sense for him to try to be a ballplayer, even a third-rate one, because it was so unlikely that he'd have a fair chance to be anything else.

PLAYBOY: A persistent part of the white stereotype of the black man is that he runs faster and jumps higher than whites. But some anthropologists have claimed recently that there actually are genetic differences between white and black. Will this new evidence worsen the relationship between white and black?

JACKSON: It won't affect us. The black man has never needed to believe that there are differences; that's a white man's problem. Our natures are the same. Our urges and drives as people are the same. Mankind has one father, and that's time. It has one mother, and that's nature. Both of these life processes are sound and consistent and universal. The third process is brotherhood, which is all messed up, because white folks have tried to withdraw from it. The eternal existential dilemmas of fate and death, guilt and condemnation, emptiness and meaninglessness are the same for all men. But our relationship, based upon distorted information peddled by white folks who reject the humanity of others, has been perverted.

PLAYBOY: What are the psychological and cultural differences between white and black, if any?

JACKSON: Slavery is our cultural heritage and it should have been a thoroughly destructive one. But instead of seeing ourselves as slaves from Africa brought over to serve the lusts and wants of white people, a providential way of seeing our slavery is that we are missionaries sent from Africa by God to save the human race. Who else is in a position so close to the Pentagon, the greatest threat to the world's existence? Who else is in a position to literally redirect the most powerful economy on earth? Who else in the world is in the enemy's kitchen and his schoolroom? We are, perhaps, the only ethnic group in the world that has the power to redirect the destiny of white America. Neither China nor Russia nor France nor England could do it. I don't look for white folks to give me any direction. My experience has taught me that white people are spiritually impotent, by and large, because all they've really produced is a lot of goods and services and a lot of death..

PLAYBOY: That's a sweeping condemnation. Would you say that the late Norman Thomas, to name one of many men, was spiritually impotent?

JACKSON: No, he was certainly a spiritual man, and you could find others. The point is that such a man is not representative of the white American culture. In fact, the secondary roles that genuinely humane white people are forced to play is indicative of what I'm trying to say. Black society chooses to be led by its prophets, white society by its hustlers. The men of highest sensibility in white society find themselves rebelling from it—just as blacks must rebel. America is known not for her capacity to love and heal but for her capacity to organize and kill. America has an aristocratic, military definition of man. American men judge themselves by their wealth, status and power, not by their intelligence, compassion or creativity. That's why the idea of looking for racial equality here is a farce. To become equal to white folks would be to become part of the greatest tradition of killing in the history of the world.

PLAYBOY: That might sound to some not only like a blatant overstatement but like a proclamation of black supremacy.

JACKSON: I don't know what it sounds like, but I know what the record will indicate. There is no evidence of Africa invading Europe, of her early advanced civilizations killing or enslaving other nations. Historically, blacks have not been the aggressors in war, not even here in America. We did not mobilize to go to war for our long-overdue justice, but there have been wars of injustice waged against us. The profound men in this culture have been black—Frederick Douglass, for example, who was more pertinent than Lincoln on the subject of slavery and the liberation of mankind. And the crusader for justice in Mississippi was Medgar Evers, not Jim Eastland. In New York, Malcolm was pertinent, not Nelson Rockefeller, who did not bat an eye when he approved the welfare cuts. The one who cried out for peace in the world and meant it was not the white leader, President Johnson; it was the black leader, Dr. King. During the past 15 years, Dr. Abernathy has been more relevant than any American president. Blacks have striven for moral dignity and, by contrast with America's state of immorality, we appear to be moral supremacists, not black supremacists

PLAYBOY: The war in Biafra seems every bit as brutal as any other war. Black life there seems to be as cheap to blacks as you say it is to whites in this country.

JACKSON: The Nigerians and Biafrans are fighting with white men's weapons. They are fighting a war that is based on a white man's division of Africa, and the cause of the division was an earlier economic colonialism. The war is an unfortunate aberration and the signs of white meddling are everywhere in it.

PLAYBOY: During the 1968 teachers' strike in New York City, there was evidence of deep-rooted black hostility toward Jews. Is anti-Semitism consistent with your claim of black moral supremacy?

JACKSON: In the first place, there were really few examples of black anti-Semitism, and these examples were blown out of all proportion by the teachers' union, which benefited by the dissemination of fear. More significantly, though, I don't think you can characterize blacks as anti-Semites. We have never been obsessed with the Jew as Christ killer. But our relationship with the Jew has changed as the black movement has changed. When blacks began to confront the Southern white power structure, most of which was WASP Baptist and Methodist, Jews gave us great support, both financial and moral, and a real kinship developed. But once the movement moved North and the problem was defined not just in terms of social segregation but in terms of economic colonialism, the Jew began to be revealed as landlord and shop owner. Of course, he is more conspicuous than the Protestant, because his name is likely to identify his ethnic background. And he is also more sensitive: It is much easier to embarrass or humiliate a Jew than either a Protestant or a Catholic, because, unlike the others, the Jew immediately identifies with suffering.

As blacks have emerged, the Jew has been there as teacher and shopkeeper, and there has been an inevitable friction. But I think the mood of the blacks is more one of anti-colonialism than of anti-Semitism. For blacks cannot afford to be anti-people; no matter who the people are, they must be anti-evil. I think the Jews who are most concerned about anti-Semitism, however, should keep in mind that blacks have not exploited Jews at all. We have not owned anything in the Jewish community—no clothing stores, banks, food stores. The Jewish community, like most others, has a left and a right wing—some who operate in a tradition of justice and others who violate that tradition. Rather than develop a persecution complex, perhaps it ought to expend some of the energy it spends complaining about black anti-Semitism on the Jewish merchants who are known to be exploiters and tend to pull the reputation of the Jewish community down.

JULIANNA *Leone*

Instagram **@JuliannaLeone**

Photography by **Chris V Linton | @ChrisVLinton**
Makeup by **@Cherrydollsbeauty**

Happy to have you feature on Playboy! Can you give us a bit of a background on your career as a model and where it all started? Thirteen years ago, a friend of mine who was just starting out in the industry asked me to do her a favor. She had to build her portfolio and needed me for a few photoshoots. After that, I put it on the back burner. In October of last year, I was presented with an opportunity to be in a calendar. Since then, it has really taken off.

What are some of your best career highlights so far? I've had a really great year. It started with me being the January girl in Muscle Memories Hotness Infusion calendar. That was shortly topped when I was chosen as 6th Hot in Fit in Canada with Inside Fitness. I then landed my first cover with Pulse Magazine. That cover secured me an offer for an exclusive magazine with them; A whole magazine of just me. In turn, I earned the resources to design an exclusive calendar for 2022, where you'll get all 12 months of me. I didn't think it could get any better than all of that but being published in Playboy is by far the top of my career highlights.

Social media is a very powerful tool, given your massive following, what are some of the challenges you face when it comes to marketing your brand and maintaining a solid following? I'm so old-school that I rarely post online. My biggest challenge is exactly that, I need to post more.

Can you give us a breakdown of a typical day in the life of a glamourous model on set? It's a whole vibe. I like to break the ice with a little humor while the photographer plays the top hits. We go through my outfit choices and then I get pampered having my hair and make-up done. I continue to crack jokes while we create magic.

What are some of the biggest misconceptions people have about what you do? To be completely honest, I'm not worried about any misconceptions people have about me or what I do.

Now we know there are some pretty perks that come with being a beautiful woman, what would say are your favorite ones? The best perk is having the opportunity to be in one of the most iconic magazines in the world, Playboy!

Given that you're a stunning woman who undoubtedly gets a lot of attention, what are some of the nicest things men have done to try and get your attention? Surprising me with flowers, opening doors for me, showing up with cigars for my brothers, bringing a bottle of wine or a cigar when meeting my Dad for the first time, and bringing my mom a bottle of wine or flowers when meeting her for the first time. These are some of the nicest things guys have done to catch my attention. For me, it's doing the little things consistently that count.

What makes you feel absolutely sexy? I am going to have to say, by far, without any hesitation being published in Playboy magazine!! It just doesn't get any sexier than that!!!

3 things that you can't go a day without? The three things I cannot go a day without are: 1. Working out 2. Listening to music 3. My family.

Anything exciting we should be on the lookout for coming through next year from you? Absolutely! My exclusive 2022 calendar. Twelve months of me! Can it get any better? Actually, it can, if you support me by picking up either my calendar and/or my exclusive magazine. You can purchase this on my Linktree. This year was just a warm-up. Keep an eye out. You'll definitely be seeing more of me.

Where can our readers find out more about you and stay updated with your current events and adventures? You can find all of that on Instagram: @JuliannaLeone. I promise to start posting more. You can also look me up on my Linktree account mentioned above. All my affiliation codes for you to save money are on there and so much more.

Thank you so much for sitting down with us and letting us get to know you! Any last words for our readers out there? Contentment is truly valuable. A man can own a bank and still be miserable. But a person who is content is hard-pressed to define misery. The challenge is to pursue things in life that bring contentment while keeping your paycheque as a secondary priority. Enjoy the simple things in life and look after the things that last. Learn to be content with little, food, and clothes. Money will never satisfy. Satisfaction is an internal quality that erupts in your heart when you become content with the simple things. In the past, great importance seemed to be placed on who a person was or what a person accomplished. Today the criterion for fame is, to a large degree all about money. History had it right. People were famous for how they lived.

1984

Playboy Interview

Jesse Jackson

A candid conversation with the preacher and presidential candidate about his controversial views and the leadership of black America

WRITTEN BY **ROBERT SCHEER** PHOTOGRAPHY BY **RON SEYMOUR**

No matter what eventually happens at the Democratic Convention this summer in San Francisco, Jesse Jackson has already won some big prizes. Since he announced for the presidency last November, the panache, pace and ever-present controversy of his candidacy have transformed the sharp-dressing, eloquent 42-year-old Baptist minister and civil rights activist from a party irritant to a force at large.

Jackson has been prominent on the national scene ever since his days as a college activist in his native South during the 1960s, when he followed the call of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., to complete the emancipation of blacks through nonviolent civil disobedience. Born to segregation in Greenville, South Carolina, Jackson emerged in his college days as a hero to those intimidated by racists and Southern sheriffs and as a firebrand to those who found segregation less offensive than the turmoil of the civil rights movement.

He was with Dr. King in Memphis at the time of his assassination and moved forcibly—some thought too forcibly—to provide leadership to a movement suddenly deprived of King's overshadowing presence. Returning to his base in Chicago to organize the poor for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the then-27-year-old minister came to be known for a fiery rhetoric that did not always seem to jibe with the Gandhian philosophy of nonviolence, which Jackson espouses.

His experiences in the early civil rights movement and later in Push, the anti-poverty and self-help organization he founded, left Jackson with many admirers and detractors—but few who are indifferent. To many, especially in the black community, he is talked about with a reverence and adulation that would seem appropriate for a combination of saint and rock star. To many others—surprisingly, as much among liberals as in the strongholds of white racism—he is seen as a scourge and an opportunist.

Now, in the 1984 presidential campaign, Jackson is a player on the highest level. Mixing Bible Belt moralizing with a fierce commitment to dispossessed constituencies—from gays to Indians and, some would add, Arabs—he sparked the Democratic race with both his candidacy and his daring mission to Syria to free a captured airman, Lieutenant Robert Goodman, Jr. Before Senator Gary Hart began to give Walter Mondale a run for his money in New Hampshire, columnist Jack Anderson wrote, "The Reverend Jesse Jackson, bless his heart, has succeeded singlehandedly in lifting the Democratic presidential race out of the terminal doldrums that threaten to bore us all to death." Others who concede the effectiveness of Jackson's thundering oratory nevertheless charge that his style smacks of demagoguery. "In passing out misinformation, the Democrats now have their own Ronald Reagan," wrote the Washington Post's Richard Cohen.

Like it or not, Jackson reached center stage, representing not only blacks but a much larger constituency within the Democratic Party. As The New York Times put it recently, "Jackson is now making history, not as a black presidential candidate but as a 'serious' black presidential candidate. That development alone is likely to have far-reaching effects on the American political scene by energizing the black vote and by altering the perceptions among whites of black candidates for elective office."

But the Times indicated that the real prize lay beyond electoral politics and concerns, involving nothing less than the mantle of black leadership, one passed around or, more accurately, grasped at but never comfortably worn since an assassin's bullet killed King 16 years ago. What Jackson "really seeks to be," the Times noted, is "the nation's premier black leader: a mover and shaker with a constituency within the Democratic Party."

Jackson denies that he wants to be the predominant black leader and dutifully ticks off the names of the scores of elected black officials he holds in high esteem. But whatever his intentions, the enormous publicity surrounding his campaign, as well as his proven ability to attract what he calls the Rainbow Coalition of supporters—including many whites—makes Jackson a man for more than just this electoral season. (In fact, this is his second appearance in the Playboy Interview slot. His first was in November 1969, just over a year and a half after King's death.)

Jackson watching is not a placid journalistic assignment. The reverend has a lot of ups and downs, with contretemps dotting his candidacy at almost every stop.

Just what significance should be attached to the various charges ranging from financial mismanagement of Push to "tainted" contributions from the Arab League? Why does Jackson say the things he says? Is he against whites? Is he against Jews? And if not, what is the fuss in the media all about? Could it be, as the reverend thinks, that he has been subjected to a double standard of criticism because he is the first black man to run seriously for the presidency?

Given Jackson's prominence, the answers to those questions will remain important long after the election. To try to get some of them, Playboy assigned Robert Scheer, whose political reporting for PLAYBOY (Interviews with Jerry Brown and Jimmy Carter, profiles of Nelson Rockefeller and Ronald Reagan) is well known to its readers. Scheer, a national reporter for the Los Angeles Times, followed Jackson through the early primaries and filed the following report:

"Jesse Jackson is hard to ignore. He is tall, muscular, bright and quick and uses all of that to let an interviewer know that he intends to finish his thoughts. Looking down on the questioner, he rears back and rocks a bit, punctuating the air with his finger while the cadenced statements roll on and on until the point to be made is wrapped and delivered. Then, and only then, another question. Jackson takes questions cheerfully but with the air of one who has heard most of them before. And he has. All of his adult life has been spent parrying questions about blacks and politics, and he knows what he knows. He does not require issues experts, pollsters and media analysts to figure out his stance.

"Jackson most often listens to a question with his head slightly tilted to suggest a cocked ear and with just the barest hint of a condescending smile about to flicker across his otherwise passive face. On those occasions when the question is not familiar, a suspicion as to the interviewer's motives may mark his manner, and the mood can get tense—not threatening but suddenly more serious and personal than one had bargained for. It's less a matter of intimidation than one of the force of personality and presence of someone who's battle-scarred.

"Like Ronald Reagan, whom I have also interviewed at some length, Jackson is a veteran of past battles over issues that truly matter to him. And while he may—again, like Reagan—occasionally get some facts wrong and exaggerate others, he remains committed to core beliefs.

"For Jackson, those beliefs revolve around whatever he feels is necessary for the advancement of blacks, and while one may take issue with his preoccupation or his prescriptions for change, personal exposure to the man did not, in my case, support a cynical view of his level of commitment.

"Both Jackson and Reagan are clearly in the political arena to do serious battle over the social direction of this country, no matter what other material and psychological rewards may be provided by the exercise. For both, it has been a long and not always fashionable political struggle.

"Neither gentleman is of the school of the modern politician touted by hip pollsters and committed only to winning. Jackson and Reagan may say and do wrong things, but when they do, it is with the altruistic aplomb of the true believer certain of the virtue of his ends and convinced that he is not driven by personal political ambition. And when they do commit a grand gaffe, they find it next to impossible to offer a profound apology, because soul-searching and doubt are simply alien to their makeup. But they are not shallow. Both have paid their dues, anguishing over causes rather than over the political style of the moment.

"There the similarity ends. Indeed, what is perhaps most interesting about Jackson is that he has risen to challenge the assumptions of Reaganism as a political philosophy more directly and energetically than has any of the other candidates.

"After hours of interviews with Jackson, I found myself fantasizing about Reagan's taking my place in the room. Let them argue about the truly needy, about affirmative action, civil disobedience and the Third World. Let them match programs for ending poverty and crime in Chicago and bringing peace to the Middle East. Do we need more weapons or fewer? More social programs or fewer? Is God, whom they both invoke incessantly, a staunch free enterpriser or a closet liberal? Now, that would be the debate for this election year.

"But Jackson will not just go away after this election any more than Reagan did following his many times out on the hustings. Both have a

constituency. Jackson may not have succeeded in building his Rainbow Coalition, but his campaign has demonstrated his basic appeal to the growing number of black voters. Thus, what Jackson has to say in this campaign and in this Interview warrants serious attention, for it will likely present itself again and with even greater force in the future."

PLAYBOY: As we speak, it looks as if either Hart or Mondale will be the Democratic nominee. What do you see as the difference between you and them?

JACKSON: As Democrats, we share many common social values. But I believe they represent liberalism, which is advocacy for change; I represent liberation, which is action for change. They hoped Goodman would be released from Syria; I went to get him. They supported the Voting Rights Act; I marched for it. They call for U.S. corporations to become more responsive; I had to boycott them to get change. They say they have no objection to a woman as vice president; I say, "Put one on the ticket."

PLAYBOY: But will those differences stop you from backing either of them if one is the Democratic nominee?

JACKSON: No. I'm not trying to impeach their characters; I'm just drawing a distinction. I'm saying that within the framework of the Democratic Party, I've paid heavier dues in the struggle for social justice than either of those two men.

PLAYBOY: However you fare in the presidential race, your Rainbow Coalition calls for unity among the poor, women, the handicapped, gays, people of all colors. Is that realistic?

JACKSON: Yes. I guess what's impressed me, what's almost seemed miraculous, is that there is less static about the Rainbow Coalition than there was about integration. Somehow, many groups are very threatened by integration—it conjures up so many fears and negative conceptions—yet the message in the Rainbow Coalition is the same: It's just that you can be black, brown, yellow or red or gay or rich or poor and you still fit in the spectrum without being threatened.

PLAYBOY: You're claiming to be more than a black candidate. Why are you optimistic that white America would support a black man?

JACKSON: Well, since Reagan took office, the nation has undergone a devastating period of racial and class polarization and a kind of willful perpetuation of the gender gap. Most Americans find that distasteful. The sense of selfishness and greed of the present administration has set a climate in the country that most Americans don't identify with in their heart of hearts. So there is a search now by people to go another way, to seek a new course. When I walked through the plant of The Boston Globe recently, you could hear workers, many of whom had Archie Bunker as a frame of reference, cheering, telling me, "I'm glad you brought the boy [*Lieutenant Goodman*] back home!" We are growing up as a nation. Those guys probably didn't want Sam Jethroe to play baseball for the Boston Braves, probably heckled Sam Jones and K. C. Jones when they played for the Celtics. And though Boston went through a period of Louise Day Hicks–type polarization, the city obviously prefers the image of Mel King and the Rainbow Coalition to that of Hicks and the rocks and the buses.

Another reason the Rainbow Coalition isn't threatening is that there are no psychological or sexual hang-ups, as there are in integration. There are deep-seated fears in this country, perpetuated over a long period of time, that are based on sexual myths, on the fear of interracial marriage. It's the old Archie Bunker thing: We can work together and you can play ball with us and go to school with us, even socialize with us, but don't come home with us. The Rainbow Coalition is made up of independent groups—you don't have to lose your group's identity to another group. It's not threatening on the personal level.

PLAYBOY: One group that does feel threatened is the Jewish community. In fact, a couple of your statements about Jews have nearly derailed your campaign. Let's settle them once and for all. Why did you use the word Hymies in referring to Jews?

JACKSON: It was unfortunate. That word never had a negative meaning to it, either politically or religiously. It was an unfortunate use of words, but no different from someone's saying he's going up to Harlem to see "Mose" or "Mosela." You know, said with a lighthearted ring. And at least some people realized that. When I spoke recently in Tallahassee, there were some Jewish people holding up a big 12-by-12-foot sign saying, Hymies Love Jesse.

Historically, the word kike was equivalent to the word nigger, which is a very offensive term. If I had been angry and said, "You kike," or, "You nigger," that would have been different. But it was blown up into something far beyond— Well, we'll almost have to put the word Hymie into the dictionary now, because it's taken on so much meaning. And I do regret the pain it caused people because of the way the press played it.

The disadvantage was the personal hurt to these people. But there's been an advantage: There is now a dialog under way that hasn't existed in a decade. And that's a consolation I find sufficient, because strong leaders are not perfect, we're public servants. When Jimmy Carter made his statement about ethnic purity, people forgave him, because they realized that didn't reflect his basic character. Last summer, Ted Koppel referred to some politicians as "Amos and Andy." It was an unfortunate use of words, but that's not his basic character. Just recently, Bill Moyers referred to me on TV as the "Kingfish of black politicians." When I pointed out that the word Kingfish might be seen as insensitive because of the Kingfish character in the Amos 'N Andy show, he said he was referring to Huey Long. You see how sensitive people can be?

PLAYBOY: You said the flap over your remarks had a good side to it. Are you serious?

JACKSON: I hope we can seize the moment. There's been more interest in meetings between blacks and Jews in the past eight or 10 days than there has been in the past eight or 10 years. But, of course, until now, it's just been a war of quotations—who said what last, which is very unhealthy. It's been a period of great agony, but I think we're going to come out of it.

PLAYBOY: You've portrayed yourself as a potential mediator among Jews, blacks and Arabs. Especially now, though, would most Jewish groups ever accept your position on the Mideast?

JACKSON: Well, I may never accept the Israeli position on South Africa, either; but we can talk. We can agree to disagree. You know, a number of Jewish people here and in Israel have written to me, asking for help in getting their relatives out of Syria. Okay? Now, the people who don't talk with their perceived enemies can't help them; isn't that right? Mondale, Glenn, Hart. The idea of not talking with a friend's enemies is not a wise strategy. The biggest contribution one could make to Israel would be to get her neighbors to recognize her, to end the armed struggle, to end the holy war. And now, through all the chaos and confusion, I emerge with the capacity to talk to both sides.

PLAYBOY: Including the P.L.O.?

JACKSON: I think the P.L.O. has to recognize Israel's right to exist. But I don't think either Israel or the P.L O. can initiate the talks that would be required for each side to recognize the other, the way Israel and Egypt couldn't do it themselves. They needed a mediator. If we had the strength of leadership to negotiate that strategy, the P.L.O. would change its position of not recognizing Israel.

PLAYBOY: Even though it's written into the covenant of the P.L.O. that Israel should be destroyed?

JACKSON: Nasser made a statement 20 to 25 years ago about driving the Jews into the sea, and the nation of the guy who made that statement has now signed a peace treaty with Israel. If you keep digging up last year's rhetoric about a given situation, you'll never move forward to forgiveness and redemption. There have been some pretty cruel things said about each other by both sides, which is standard for people who are angry at each other.

PLAYBOY: Which brings us back to another of the things you said about Jews. Why did you say you were tired of hearing about the Jewish holocaust?

JACKSON: It was a statement taken completely out of context. In 1971 or 1972, I was in Africa with my wife and the Staple Singers and Roberta Flack. We decided to go see where the slaves had been kept. We were taken to some caves. They were damp and ugly, and what had started out as a tourist visit became quietness and then singing and prayers and tears. By the time we got out at the other end, there was a kind of anger, a real resentment among us. But then I said to my wife, "You know, if we

rehearsed this slavery ritual every day, or often, we could develop the kind of resentment toward the blacks who sold us and the whites who captured and then enslaved us that would never lend itself to making human progress. I would just be so bitter!"

Later, in a private talk with two guys, I referred to the Jewish holocaust in that context. We had seen several references to the holocaust on television that year, and I said that while I appreciated the memory of it as a basis for saying "Never again," we really had to move beyond that and not linger at the graveside. That was analogous to our own experience, having come through the holocaust of slavery, having lost 30 million or 40 million people in slavery. My remark was one of personal experience, not one that was designed to be negative or hostile. That was the context of that statement, because I, too, am a member of a race that has known a holocaust and has known subjugation in this land, not just as a matter of history but as a matter of personal experience. I look at those striped uniforms that the Jews wore in those Nazi camps and I recall that I grew up watching the police act like Nazis every weekend and lock up blacks, charging them with vagrancy, making them wear striped uniforms and putting chains on their ankles. What they really were looking for were street cleaners they wouldn't have to pay, and they'd sentence a black to 10 days in prison for being drunk on his own porch and stuff like that. So it wasn't the first time I had seen those striped uniforms.

PLAYBOY: Nonetheless, didn't you also call Zionism a "poisonous weed"?

JACKSON: Again, it was out of context. That was said during a debate about Zionism, which is built upon the premise of race, while Judaism is built upon faith. Now, there's been an attempt by some to equate the two. But the state of Israel is not the state of Judaism. Zionism is not a religion, it's a political philosophy. Many Zionists are, in fact, agnostics and atheists. Judaism is built upon faith and forgiveness and is really an optimistic view of the future, and Zionism tends to be much more narrow than that. Having said that, I believe Jews have a right to be Zionist politically, but one need not equate Judaism and Zionism. And I accept the right of Israel to exist. The fact is that from a religious standpoint, there is something about Judaism that appeals to me. I'm Judeo-Christian; my religious roots are there. There is a kind of boldness, a kind of universality, espoused in the faith that is eternal. And I just don't equate the two.

PLAYBOY: Then what does it mean to say that Zionism is a poisonous weed?

JACKSON: If people lose religious faith, which is eternal, and begin to put their faith in a political arrangement, which is temporary, well, one to me represents oxygen and flowering and growth, while the other represents the choking of that growth. To the extent that my description was offensive, I regret it, because my point is not to be offensive.

PLAYBOY: But to some people, your denunciation of Zionism was another way of denying Israel's legitimacy.

JACKSON: Well, to the extent that it was misunderstood, I regret it. Right now, of course, we're going well beyond the context we were in when I said it. Many Jews, as you know, reject Zionism. They see it as very bad, so it's not just a personal position I have. And historically, the best experience of the Jewish people has been in their religious faith, the chastising, courageous strength of the prophets who challenged their own politicians. I mean, historically, a guy like Menachem Begin would have been challenged far more strongly by the Jewish prophets, and maybe the prophetic voice in Israel today tends to be that of the Peace Now movement.

PLAYBOY: You're talking about the leftist coalition in Israel but a lot of them would consider themselves Zionists, too, so you wouldn't get much support there. It seems as if politicians get deeper in trouble when they try to explain things away instead of just admitting they made a mistake. Wouldn't it be better to just say that your use of the phrase poisonous weed was a lousy choice of words?

JACKSON: I don't know what your point is. You almost sound as if you're trying to chastise me, which I'm beginning to resent. I'm trying to say, as clearly as I can, that my point is that Zionism and Judaism are different things. Why keep wrestling with it?

PLAYBOY: That's precisely our point. You keep wrestling with a phrase that most people think is anti-Israeli, if not anti-Semitic, instead of saying it was a mistake and being done with it.

JACKSON: I've said that about five times a night. I mean, to the extent to which it's offensive, I regret it, because that was not what my intent was. And I think that the more that journalists like yourself keep dwelling on that

PLAYBOY: We're trying to clear it up, not dwell on it.

JACKSON: Okay. Well, I made a mistake. There is a sensitivity to the phrase that I underestimated, frankly. You simply walk into buzz saws by hitting the wrong buzz words. Even with most people I know who are in conflict with Jewish people on a given issue, that conflict is not for the most part philosophical, it's usually political.

PLAYBOY: That's true, but since the Peace Now people in Israel consider themselves Zionists, they don't consider Zionism a poisonous weed. That was what we were trying to clarify.

JACKSON: I understand.

PLAYBOY: And if you said to one of them, "Zionism is a poisonous weed," it would be the end of the dialog, because they see themselves as Zionists who are nonetheless in favor of such moves as returning the West Bank to the Arabs.

JACKSON: I agree. And I tend to identify with their politics, because I think there is righteousness there, a quest for fair play. I think that they will be capable of coexisting with the Palestinians in ways that will be beneficial for them as well as for world peace. The talks we had with them when we were in Israel were enjoyable experiences that have etched a lasting place in my memory.

> "Many whites did, temporarily, what blacks must do eternally—fight for equality. Some whites say, 'I marched in Selma.' It was an experience to write home about. But some of us had to stay after the march."

PLAYBOY: Do you regret having been caught up in all this?

JACKSON: No, I tremble from the pain of it all, but I see a silver lining beyond the dark cloud. The whole period has been a crucifying experience for all of us. I think that joy is coming in the morning. It's almost like you have to go through a crucifixion before you can get to a resurrection. I can feel the stone being rolled away.

PLAYBOY: You've said that other experiences etched in your memory are responsible for your view of the world. Back when segregation was widespread, was there one experience that had a profound effect on you?

JACKSON: Yes. There was a store in Greenville, South Carolina, that was typical of the black South. It was owned by whites, because black people seldom owned any stores, and the owner's children grew up with the rest of us, so you were allowed to play with them. But as they grew to replace their father in business, they began to grow in their father's ways. They began to take on the likeness of the master. I used to play with the children of Jack, the store owner.

This particular day, I was in a hurry, because my grandfather was outside and he gave me a nickel to get some Mary Janes and cookies

or something. There were eight or ten black people in there, and I said, "Jack, can I have a cookie?" He had been cutting bologna or something. I whistled for his attention. Suddenly, he was on me with a gun pointed at my head. He said, "Never whistle at me again!" The thing that stood out in my mind was that the other blacks who were in the store acted as if they didn't see it. They stayed busy. They had a deep and abiding fear. I was not so much afraid of the gun as I was of what my father would do. He had just gotten back from World War II, and I knew he had not only a temper but a mind that had been opened up after being exposed to Europe during the war. He had become more resentful of the system. I knew that if my father heard about it, he'd either kill Jack or get killed. So I suppressed it. It came out many years later. But that was the nature of life in the occupied zone.

PLAYBOY: You've kept your own resentments fairly well suppressed through this campaign. In fact, overall, your views are a lot less strident than they were during your first Interview with us. You were pretty tough on the white establishment in 1969. You were only 28 then, right?

JACKSON: Yes

PLAYBOY: You were a kid.

JACKSON: Yes. In many ways.

PLAYBOY: How have you changed?

JACKSON: I've matured, obviously. People mature or they rot. I've been blessed. A lot of people have allowed me to grow, have been tolerant of my mistakes. I've maintained my will to work, but I've needed a lot of help from people in keeping my equilibrium. I've grown up in a goldfish bowl, with the temptations and oppressions of this job, learning to use public admiration and prestige with prudence and discipline.

PLAYBOY: When you say you grew up in a goldfish bowl, do you mean you've held a prominent position since you were young?

JACKSON: Yes. I was a big deal in home-town football at 13; you know, being the quarterback and hearing your name over the loud-speaker. That was a kind of public exposure. Then there was college football and student activities, all that. And in Greensboro, I became prominent in the civil rights movement, went to jail as sort of a hero in 1965. So it's been almost 30 years of that life, nonstop. There've been lots of opportunities and a lot of growing up to do. I'm glad I chose this work, glad this work chose me.

PLAYBOY: What do you actually do about the pressure, the tension? You don't drink; do you exercise, work out?

JACKSON: I play basketball sometimes. I read. No, I think. I've been blessed with a creative mind, you know, and while some people tend to read in their spare time, I think in mine. Reading is looking back and wrestling with other people's ideas. But when you think, you can focus on your own ideas. A big difference.

PLAYBOY: What's an example?

JACKSON: Take the election of Harold Washington, Chicago's first black mayor. Before the election, Walter Mondale came to town to support Richard Daley's son, while Ted Kennedy came to support then-mayor Jane Byrne. In other words, the progressive wing of the Democratic Party was moving to the right. What could we do? Most people got upset. I said, "We've got to figure a way out of this. Think. Hear me? Think!" Now, we couldn't just wring our hands and act as if Jack, the old store owner back in Greenville, were holding a gun to our heads and we couldn't tell our daddy. This time, we had to have a plan! Our liberal allies, Kennedy and Mondale, come riding into town with smoking guns, supporting party regulars over the progressive black candidate. Most folks looked at it and pretended it didn't happen. But it did happen. If Kennedy and Mondale had had their way, Washington wouldn't have won. If it had been left to them, the rise of the black political movement would have been stopped, stillborn. So what do you do? You can't go Republican; that's too devastatingly right wing. Can't stay with the Democrats as they are, right? So take them on in the primaries! Aha! The best of both worlds. You can act, challenge the Democrats in their own primaries, challenge the Republicans in the general election, do all of it! Think. I couldn't have gotten that reading a book. There hasn't been any book written on this.

PLAYBOY: So that's really the origin of your campaign—trying to counter what you see as Kennedy's and Mondale's defections?

JACKSON: Yes. I heard about it on the news. I couldn't believe it. How can progressive Democrats make a commitment to Chicago—which is 40 percent black and 15 percent Hispanic and only three percent Irish—and choose two Irish candidates over the black candidate? But I'm not angry now; look what the result was: this campaign. It's like a child born out of wedlock, as I was—you aren't angry forever that your father isn't around. If it's negative that he's not there, it's positive that you were born. So you focus on the positive and keep on steppin'.

PLAYBOY: And this campaign, no matter what happens at the convention, is positive as far as blacks are concerned?

JACKSON: Blacks will never again be taken for granted. Politics in America is quite different tonight from what it was a year ago. Quite different.

PLAYBOY: All right, back to your candidacy. As a civil rights activist, you've never even held public office. Isn't it presumptuous of you to run for president? Do you think you're equipped to deal with substantial foreign-policy matters?

JACKSON: The media projection of me as being not involved in foreign policy, not aware of what our options are, is a misperception of reality. I've met with most African heads of state, most Arab heads of state, and I've traveled throughout Europe. I went down to Panama, trying to get the Panama Canal treaty through. I made major presentations on Salt II, trying to get that passed. Our leaders have an obligation to meet the other leaders of the world to establish rapport. Everybody knows that the personal relationship between Kennedy and Khrushchev was crucial in that period. All of life really does boil down to personal relationships. Legend says that war and peace often start and end in the bedroom. The woman asks the man, "Are you going to take that from that guy?" So the guy declares war. If Andropov and Reagan had met each other and communicated and expressed their common desire to avoid mutual annihilation, with a real desire to do it, those two men could have relieved tension in this world, but they didn't know each other So they talked at each other rather than relate to each other, and that violent noncommunication has us on the brink of disaster.

"Ultimately, the poor do not just want liberal friends, they want to be empowered."

PLAYBOY: It's your view of the Third World that separates you from most other leaders in this country. How would you change America's relationship with it?

JACKSON: Well, America looks upon the Third World with a lot of arrogance and contempt. Some of our contempt for Third World nations is based upon their poverty, some of it is based upon their color, some of it is built upon our relationship with the oppressors of those societies. Some of it is based upon our corporations' exploitative relationship with those nations. The reasons we do this are essentially immoral or contemptuous. The Third World is mostly poor, uneducated, diseased, desperate for human rights, desperate for economic development, more inclined toward America than toward the Soviet Union. It's mostly black, brown, yellow, red, non-Christian, non-English-speaking. So why waste all the time on the East-West, U.S.A.-and-U.S.S.R. aspect of the problem?

PLAYBOY: So you'd agree with George McGovern that we have a fixation on communism?

JACKSON: Oh, he's right about that. As opposed to affirming our point of view, we've found ourselves running from another point of view. Anybody who rebels we call a Communist. In the South, we were fighting for civil rights, basic public accommodations. We were called Communists. Fighting for the right to vote, we were called Communists. So if the peasants fight to overcome the landed gentry, calling them Communists does

not make them so. And even when they get desperate—when we refuse support because they're also getting aid from another area—that doesn't mean that they agree with that other viewpoint. If a man is drowning, he'll reach for any raft; it's his only way of surviving. We should be putting life rafts into the water rather than toxic waste.

PLAYBOY: But communism is a fact of life in some parts of Latin America. What would you do about it?

JACKSON: We should open a dialog with Cuba and normalize relations. Among other things, Cuba is 90 miles away. If we can relate to Soviet communism, we certainly can relate to Cuba's. Also, by ignoring Cuba, we make it bigger; we make Castro bigger than he really is. We allowed ourselves to be put in the position of Goliath, with Castro as David, and the longer we boycott him and he survives without us, the longer it makes him the hero of South, Central and Latin America and the Caribbean. For the most part, I am convinced, Cubans would rather relate to this country than to the Soviet Union. Among other reasons, we're hemispheric partners. I think we make a mistake in not opening up trade with Cuba.

PLAYBOY: What about Nicaragua and the Sandinistas?

JACKSON: I cannot separate the Nicaraguan revolution from the tyranny of [*former dictator*] Somoza and our investment in his tyranny. We should recognize Nicaragua, we should open up dialog with its leaders, we should stop supporting the rebels militarily, because we're losing the war and losing prestige. We are losing that war and losing credibility throughout the Third World because we're engaging in that war. We ought to be more patient with Third World nations in their transitions for development. After all, there was a 10- or 12-year difference between General George Washington and President George Washington. We ourselves had to evolve into a more mature democracy. A substantial number of people got the right to vote 100 years after that. So for us to try to make them do in three years what we didn't do in 12 years is unfair. And we ought to help stabilize that government, help correct through diplomacy and trade the wrongs that are there and not disrupt the people of that government with an attempted military overthrow.

PLAYBOY: When Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., first criticized U.S. foreign policy i.e., the Vietnam war he encountered more controversy than he'd known as a civil rights leader. Did his experience make it easier for you to speak out?

JACKSON: Oh, I'm convinced of that. I remember very well the adverse reaction to Dr. King's decision to come out against the Vietnam war in 1967. I read his remarks in the Hilton Hotel for the first time the morning he made his speech—all the reasons we should get out of Vietnam. I remember that after the speech, we went on an 11-city tour we'd planned with Aretha Franklin and Harry Belafonte to raise money for civil rights causes. Well, we broke even in only one city, because Lyndon Johnson put so much pressure on both black and white Democratic Party structures. We hit the stage in Oakland—imagine, with both Aretha Franklin and Harry Belafonte—and, unbelievably, the place was only one-fourth full. We went on to Houston. We stepped onto the stage. All of a sudden, there was gas in the air-supply system and we had to evacuate the auditorium. It was a very violent atmosphere, and it continued that way until King was assassinated.

Many blacks, some of them his classmates, publicly disavowed him, because he really was breaking new ground. He moved us from the civil rights struggle to a global outlook on the human-rights struggle. Prior to that time, it was considered a kind of treason to challenge the country's war policies. King opened up that window for everybody.

PLAYBOY: Which black leaders told him not to criticize the Vietnam war?

JACKSON: I remember Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, Whitney Young of the Urban League and many other civil rights leaders who castigated King for dividing the civil rights movement. But King's point was, you couldn't separate the two—money that had been designated for the War on Poverty was going to the war in Vietnam.

PLAYBOY: Now that there's a national holiday for King, do you think we tend to remember him for his more acceptable achievements rather than for his more controversial positions?

JACKSON: All societies emasculate their martyrs in time. If those martyrs had been as socially acceptable in life as they are in death, they wouldn't have died the way they did. They were really on the cutting edge of change; they were engaging in social change, not just in social service. They were victims of a character assassination that preceded their physical assassination. The big issue, of course, in the case of King, is that the U.S. government was involved in it. One of J. Edgar Hoover's memos said the government's purpose was to destroy the black movement and to stop the rise of the black messiah. Hoover called King a liar and a Communist. Given the FBI's role in trying to discredit him, it's not difficult to believe that it was also involved in destroying him.

PLAYBOY: How?

JACKSON: Well, given Hoover's personal hatred of him, there is no limit to what role the FBI may have had in his assassination. James Earl Ray was able to get out of Memphis, and then out of the country, very easily. I believe he was the fall guy in a much bigger scheme. King was seen not only by paranoid FBI agents but by hawks of that day as a threat to national security. It was absurd, but that's how they perceived him.

PLAYBOY: After King's death, you became very bitter about whites. You said in your first Playboy Interview, less than two years after King's death, that white students didn't have to worry about poverty, because their fathers sent them to school and they could avoid the draft; that they weren't really serious about civil rights; they didn't support Operation Breadbasket and projects of that sort.

JACKSON: Well, many whites in the South did, temporarily, what blacks must do eternally—fight for rights, fight for equality. I see a lot of them today who say, "I went to Selma; I was in such and such a march." Yes, that was an experience to write home about. But some of us had to stay when the march was over.

PLAYBOY: Some whites died.

JACKSON: Indeed, some whites died. Some blacks died and some whites died. As to how I felt after King's death, I'm not sure I was as bitter as I was hurt. I mean, I saw our leadership wasted, and I also saw the government turn its back on us. The Johnson Administration, which blacks had voted for and had high hopes for, turned its back on us. That caused a great deal of pain. Many of the members of our civil rights alliance who had helped became very unkind as we sought to move up. As long as everything was horizontal, it was fine, but they fought vertical movement. They wanted to remove the shame of apartheid, but they did not want to share the power. The Bakke reverse-discrimination suit was a major turning point for relations in the coalition that made the civil rights gains of the '60s possible.

PLAYBOY: Would you use a word such as betrayal about former civil rights allies?

JACKSON: I don't choose to use that word, only because it would not serve a good end. Our friends simply went so far but did not go far enough. Ultimately, the poor do not just want friends, they want to be empowered. And when you start speaking of empowering the poor, then you have to redistribute the power of those who already have it. And some of those who already had it may have been our close allies

Maybe we had to go through a period of adjustment, moving from liberalism to liberation. We had to break the dependency syndrome. I remember in Gary, Indiana, we had a white guy who was basically a liberal as the mayor. But Richard Hatcher said our time has come, so what you had was a struggle between liberals and blacks for the mayor's office—conservatives had already fled town. And as blacks began to win, it changed the fundamental relationship. We moved from one born of paternalism to one of power. But for the most part, blacks in city government and in Congress replaced liberals, not conservatives

PLAYBOY: All right, but didn't black extremists make some pretty large mistakes along the way? Wasn't there a costly, unnecessary alienation?

JACKSON: When you have a new life, like a baby coming into the world, you're going to have some pain. After so many years of swelling up, as we had, the water breaks and the blood flies and the mother sighs and the baby cries. But then you clean up the afterbirth material; you accept new life as the reality. I remember when there was so much tension about my running in the Democratic primaries—it would traumatize the party, traumatize every candidate, including blacks, they said. It

would divide the country, they said. But now they see the positive effects. The progressive wing of the party is alive again, and the only chance the Democratic Party has of winning is with the margin of new voters I bring to the banquet tables. The party's expanding, not dividing. There's creative tension; issues are being raised that otherwise would not be raised. We've brought an excitement to the campaign and a style of campaigning that mobilizes people. So, you know, sometimes our worst fears are never realized, and we grow up and we move on.

PLAYBOY: Let us move on to your well-publicized dealings with Syria. Although its release of Lieutenant Goodman helped your campaign, would you agree it's an extremely repressive country?

JACKSON: Oh, it certainly is. Absolutely, you should apply the same standards everywhere, anywhere.

PLAYBOY: You don't disagree, then, that Syria, Libya and Saudi Arabia all have repressive regimes?

JACKSON: Well, to the extent to which they have them, they must be challenged. It doesn't serve any good end, it seems to me, just to call them repressive. We must make our position clear and link our relationship and our support to the enforcement of human rights. If Reagan's constructive engagement with South Africa meant that it would be used to change conditions there, that would be all right. I think that as a superpower, we ought to relate to all these countries. But we should then use our leverage to bring about change, because we will end up on one side of history or the other—either with those who are denying human rights or with those who are supporting them.

PLAYBOY: All right, but when you accept money from the Arab League, some people feel you can't claim you're merely supporting human rights for Arabs; you are actually doing business with some very repressive Arab regimes, including Syria's. It's a contradiction for someone who's concerned about human rights to be accepting that sort of support.

JACKSON: Well, the fact is, the Israelis are holding people under occupation and annexing territory and engaging in expansion, building settlements in violation of the law. At some point, that has to give way to a more democratic relationship with neighbors.

PLAYBOY: We'll get back to the Middle East, but the heart of your campaign has been a call for more federal programs rather than fewer. Yet one thing we've heard from other Democratic candidates this year is that the social programs of the 1960s that you favored simply didn't work.

JACKSON: Well, the fact is that the War on Poverty really never had a chance! The money that was to be directed to rebuild America was spent on Vietnam! That brought in this new era of inflation, which hurt the economy. So lunch counters were closing as we were getting the right to sit at them; a cutback in funds for education came generally about the time we were getting the chance to get into schools in the first place. Social progress was taking place at the same time as the collapse in the auto, steel, electronics, rubber and textile industries. So we got the right to vote at about the time we lost our jobs. We got the right to vote for politicians, but we don't have the right to vote on whether or not the plants will close.

PLAYBOY: You once were a strong advocate of putting pressure on private business. Have you put that aside for now?

JACKSON: This is a political movement, and we're fighting for our share of participation in the public economy. But that does not mean that we can let private America off the hook. After all, the private economy is a three-trillion-dollar economy, and it has been crueler to women, Hispanics, blacks and Asians than the government has. These corporations have denied entry, they have denied promotions, they refuse to share in contracts for trade. They've gotten government subsidies in taxes, government contracts without obligation. If I were to list a series of priorities for black and poor people, they would be, first, to own a private business; second, to have a private job; third, to have a public job; fourth, to have public aid.

PLAYBOY: Do you favor government planning to direct corporate activities?

JACKSON: We must exert more influence over corporate behavior in this country—at least commensurate with our investment in those corporations. If we give a corporation a tax subsidy, we must then demand some return on our investment. If you put R19,200.00 in the bank, you expect to make X amount of interest. A bank can open in your community, take your money and then reserve the right to not reinvest in that community. There should be a greater sense of economic planning in this country—or a more fundamental covenant among labor, business and government.

Now, planning does not always mean controlling something; it means directing. When Reagan talks about establishing enterprise zones to end urban blight, which is his plan, he does not attach a budget to it, so he is not serious about it. But it is a plan. Reagan planned to use unemployment to fight inflation; that's why unemployment went up to almost 11 percent. His plan reduced inflation, but unemployment cost the country R575.00 billion for every percentage point it went up. There are plans every day; the question is, What are we planning? Right now, we are not planning to feed the hungry—there are 3 million more children not nourished; there are 5 million more people in poverty.

PLAYBOY: Do you identify with the European social-democratic tradition?

JACKSON: I don't know enough about it to say I identify with it; I know that I tend to identify with people who are maximizing a commitment to children and women and poor people, people who are fighting for peace, for justice, people who are fighting for the collective good—that appeals to me. But that comes under different labels everywhere, and the label is not as important to me as the essence of it is.

"There is a place to be between being completely pro-choice and completely pro-life."

PLAYBOY: You've mentioned women as participants in your Rainbow Coalition. What do women, as a group, have at stake in the struggle of poor blacks?

JACKSON: It is clear that the E.R.A. will not become a reality so long as it remains narrowly defined and dominated by white women. White women, black women, Hispanic women, underprivileged women must see their common interest in the E.R.A. as an economic-rights amendment that protects their adulthood as well as their need to have adequate wages and opportunities to protect their children, because most poor children are in a house headed by a woman without a man. In the past ten years, we've proved that we can survive without one another, but we've not proved we can win without one another

PLAYBOY: What is your position on abortion?

JACKSON: I do not favor a legal ban on abortion, but it's a complex issue. There is a place to be between being completely pro-choice and completely pro-life. Part of my problem with it is my sensitivity about just how precious children are who are born in the lower economic strata. If my mother had had to make a case for her economic stability before having a baby, I wouldn't have been born—or if she'd had to prove there was a father in the home, which she couldn't. I'm sensitive to what that represents. On the other hand, my daughter was born six months after my wife and I were married. I understand the tensions and dynamics in these questions, so I think that to demand that people have unequivocal stands on the issue just polarizes things.

It's strange: One group says, "We love babies so much, we insist that people take no measures to prevent their being born." Another group says, "We love babies so much, they must be born under any circumstances." Yet another group says, "We love babies so much, they should arrive only under certain circumstances—certainly not without parents' having proper housing and job and so forth." So which group loves babies the most?

One solution is to begin serious education in the formative years on the power of your body The controversy over abortion is a little like the question of nuclear war do you react the day after or do you take measures the day before? Educate the kids the day before and you'll reduce the chances of a day after. On the other hand—it gets so strange! what does it mean to be pro-life, to say you love life so much, and then vote against prenatal care, health care, food stamps? So it's easy to play one crowd off against another. It's ringing people's bells. Our job is to find the true common ground between pro-choice and pro-life.

PLAYBOY: You've tried to enlist gays in your coalition. But you are a Baptist minister, and many Baptists regard homosexuality as a sin. Isn't that right?

JACKSON: Well, there's a growing maturity among clergymen and a belief that we should allow God to be the ultimate judge. We must support freedom of choice, but we must remind people that they must live with the consequences of their choices. God gives us freedom of choice—that's why you have so many different denominations—and people have the right to be religious or not religious.

PLAYBOY: Well, we do and we don't. You know, we had Jimmy Carter, who told us he prayed 20 or 40 times a day; Reagan is talking again about making kids pray in school; and here you are, a Baptist minister. Do we ever get enough of you guys?

JACKSON: One can have a commitment to modern imperatives without imposing one's religious persuasion upon other people. I've found in religion, whether I'm with Hindus or Buddhists or Jews or Christians or Moslems, that I try to search for the common ground, the ecumenical spirit. Prayer is a form of discipline that I engage in and it works for me, but this is a secular nation. We have a sacred obligation to welcome the outcast, to feed the hungry and to help the needy that is a sacred obligation—but our nation lives by the Constitution, not by the Bible.

PLAYBOY: Do you have any fears that this injection of religion into politics will get out of hand?

JACKSON: No, my fear is that secularism and indifference will get out of hand. We cannot become too obsessed with caring for the poor and the disabled and the needy and the rejected, but we can become obsessed with making money and measuring strength by military might.

PLAYBOY: How do you feel about Reagan's invoking religious appeals all the time? You're a Baptist minister, yet he's the one calling for prayer in the schools.

JACKSON: But it's hypocritical. Reagan's call is to prayer without moral obligation. We are taught in the Bible when anyone says, "Lord, Lord, am I getting to the kingdom?" that a tree shall be known by the fruit that it bears, not by the bark it wears. So Reagan, on the one hand, is for prayer in the schools, while on the other hand, he cuts the school-lunch program. He's for prayer in the schools but not for providing food for children who are poor and malnourished. The religious mandate is to feed the hungry, clothe the naked and liberate the captive and to be judged by how you treat the least of those. And my impression is that Reagan exploits people's high regard for prayer. He also exploits our sense of patriotism. When he calls upon us to be patriotic, he knows Americans are patriotic and have good reason to be. Being patriotic and dying in Lebanon should not be seen as one and the same. You can be patriotic without being foolish.

PLAYBOY: Incidentally, as a Baptist minister, do you have any qualms about appearing in PLAYBOY? Some in your faith feel somewhat puritanical.

JACKSON: This puritanical age is also a very punitive age. And it has gone to the logical conclusion. It has chosen superstition over science. But I think our country's strength has always relied on certain kinds of equal combinations—the secular and the spiritual. I think that in some sense, PLAYBOY has had this strange combination of the universal appeal of sex on the one hand and its challenging intellectual appeal these classic Interviews—on the other; it attracts an interesting, an unusual mix of people. It's similar to this country's strength: Many people who take pride in the freedom of our secular society reject the fact that this is a secular state. To find a balance—that's the challenge of the miracle of the American experience.

PLAYBOY: Back to more mundane matters. You've expressed some bitterness about how the press has treated you

JACKSON: I'm not sure I'm bitter about it. People generally are distrustful of the American press, because each night, for the most part, a handful of journalists impose their will on the American public. Most places you go, if you make any kind of joke or crack about the press, people start laughing or hissing or booing, because it's as if they don't have a way to strike back.

PLAYBOY: Do you feel your ties to the Arab world have been unfairly picked on? When the issue of payments by the Arab League to Push came up on the front page of The New York Times, some people around you felt that it was done deliberately. They claim The New York Times was out to get you. How do you assess that?

JACKSON: I don't know. Many people at The New York Times itself feel it was vindictive and overkill After all, when I went to Syria, The New York Times was scathing about me in its editorials. And when I brought Goodman back, it was ungracious. It still found something wrong with my going to Syria. Even though it was within the law, the Times was less gracious than President Reagan was—far less gracious. As I recall, it did not put the photograph of Goodman on the front page, as most other papers in the world did. It has taken a definite attitude toward my campaign and what I stand for. [*The New York Times did, in fact, run the picture of Goodman on its front page.*]

"Reagan exploits our high regard for prayer. He also exploits our sense of patriotism."

PLAYBOY: Why do you think the Times has done that?

JACKSON: I think it's self-evident what the Times is doing. I just hope that the warfare will end and there will be more congenial relations.

PLAYBOY: Yet your adversaries on the question of your Arab ties will say you fired the first shot by embracing Yasir Arafat and adopting a strong pro-Arab stance during your Middle East trips.

JACKSON: When I went to the Middle East, I went to meet with Prime Minister Begin; he refused to meet with me. I wanted to meet with Arafat as well, and I went to see him to appeal to both sides for mutual recognition of the P.L.O. and Israel. The price that both sides are paying for their refusal to recognize each other is just expanded brutality murder. No one would have thought that Begin and Sadat could sit around a table and end up with their arms outstretched to each other, all because of a personal relationship. That happened only because a leader took an aggressive position and saw more advantages in peace than in fighting

PLAYBOY: Columnist George Will wrote a column that accused you of ignoring Syrian repression and of apologizing for President Assad

JACKSON: I didn't apologize for Assad! That's not true! George Will was so visibly shook up by the success of the Goodman rescue mission that he was incoherent. He's not a good source. Will was hoping that we would fail, which meant he hoped Goodman would remain in jail; if he had remained in jail, he would have been war bait. That meant he could very well have been a stimulus to expand conflict between America and Syria. So Will's reaction was wholly irrational. It reminds me of people's criticizing the successful mission of Jesus when he healed a blind man one Sabbath; they complained because of the upset they were not accustomed to reporting such

news. Except for the blind man: He could see. When all of the dust clears away, you can always say that Goodman was once in jail and now he is free. As a result, Reagan sent Assad a letter to express his thanks, and then Ambassador Donald Rumsfeld met with Assad for the first time. So our mission was to relieve the pressure—to try to open up a dialog—and we were successful.

PLAYBOY: Ever since your Syrian mission, you've had a pretty large press contingent following you. But we notice that there's a high percentage of black reporters; do you find it easier to relate to them?

JACKSON: Not necessarily. I have nothing to do with it, because I don't assign the reporters. But the black reporters do understand the nuances in the black community much better than white reporters do, for the most part. The white reporters have much to learn from black reporters on certain beats—and vice versa.

PLAYBOY: Do you think black reporters try to prove themselves by showing that they are tough and independent and then cut you down? It was a black Washington Post reporter, Milton Coleman, who broke the news about your calling Jews Hymies, wasn't it?

JACKSON: Yes, and it was unfortunate, because it was a private, colloquial talk. That's why it wasn't even reported directly in the first story. There were a couple of other words he may have heard too. Why didn't he report them?

PLAYBOY: Such as?

JACKSON: In that conversation and others, I heard people laughingly refer to "Ay-rabs" and niggers—not in a derogatory sense, almost affectionately.

PLAYBOY: But you're not saying that if we heard Gary Hart use the word "nigger" that we shouldn't report it, are you?

JACKSON: No, if you heard any number of words like that you should report them all. But it's a matter of context. All I'm saying is that I want people to play by one set of rules.

PLAYBOY: We don't understand what you're saying. You agree we should report it if Hart were to say "Ay-rab" or "nigger," right?

JACKSON: Sure.

PLAYBOY: So shouldn't we report your using the word "Hymie"?

JACKSON: My point is, you should report all of what is said, so if you report private, colloquial use of language about Jewish people, you should also report your own use of language about black people and Arabs.

PLAYBOY: You mean the reporter used those terms.

JACKSON: Sure. Except one term is more insulting than the other.

PLAYBOY: Not to belabor this, but where did you first hear the word Hymie?

JACKSON: In South Carolina. I grew up all my life using words like Hymie, Stymie, Buckwheat all those characters.

PLAYBOY: Buckwheat was black; Hymie was Jewish. What was Stymie?

JACKSON: I don't know. The point is, there was nothing particularly offensive about Hymie when it was used. There's a friend we have called Hymie Johnson. Since this whole thing happened, a number of Jewish people have called me to tell me that their children and cousins are named Hymie. People have to stretch to make it offensive As literate as you are, you had to ask me what it means. Which is the point.

PLAYBOY: You clearly are the black American with the greatest recognition right now. Even though you stress that you are just a vehicle for the aspirations of your coalition, isn't it a fact that one result of this campaign will be that you will be the acknowledged national black leader?

JACKSON: No.

PLAYBOY: It's not even something you can accept or reject; isn't it just a matter of name recognition?

JACKSON: No. I'm leading the Rainbow Coalition. This is not an ethnic march; this is a political movement to pull together the strength of rejected groups so they may be able to serve more effectively and be served better by their government. That's what the real point is.

PLAYBOY: When you were in the civil rights movement, did you think you would have to go around to young blacks one day to get them to say, "I am somebody," or did you feel that simply ending legal discrimination would solve the problem?

JACKSON: One day, James Meredith came to meet with Dr. King, Ralph Abernathy and some of the rest of us and announced he was going to lead a march in Mississippi against fear. They thought he was crazy a march against fear? Who can see fear, who can touch fear? But he led the march down the road and got shot. Remember that? He was trying to affirm something.

I was standing on the back of a truck one day in Resurrection City during the Poor People's March in 1968, and on that particular morning, it was raining, Dr. King was dead, Robert Kennedy was dead, we were really in despair. I looked down from that truck and saw black women, white women, Indian women, most of them with their babies, very few men one boy died—some of them catching hepatitis, the government had turned its back on us; just us, nobodies! And I told those people, "Don't let them break your spirit! Repeat after me: 'I am somebody!' Say, 'I may be poor, but I am somebody. I may be on welfare, I may be unskilled, I am somebody Respect me!' Say, 'I am more than what you see. The me that makes me me, my essence, is important; I am God's child, I am somebody!'" And it became a battle cry. People began to gain strength. Now, around the world, people have chanted that battle cry.

PLAYBOY: If this presidential race is hopeless in practical terms, will you feel personally bitter?

JACKSON: I don't have any hatred, I don't have any bitterness, and I have participated in enough victories in my life to feel good. If we were still in the back of the bus, I might be bitter. Who won that fight? We had big opposition—the Woolworth Company and its lunch counter but we won that fight. Who won the fight against the Greyhound and Trailways bus policies? Vietnam? Open housing? Who won those fights? George Wallace stood in the door and said, "Segregation now, tomorrow and forever." We won that fight. In Little Rock, we won that fight. So, really, there are a series of victories that are so inspirational they should remove any bitterness. Our main hope is that we can keep winning.

PLAYBOY: Even if you don't win conventionally? Because if there's one thing that's said about you, it's that you don't play politics in the standard way, that you're a wild card. Anything to that?

JACKSON: I don't know. But wild cards usually beat aces, don't they?

LEAH
SPEAKE
Instagram @leahspeake

VICTORIA'S SECRET

Hi, I'm Leah, I am from Birmingham, England. I am a mod el, makeup artist and hairstylist, I love all the Glamour. That is why I am so honored to be a part of Playboy it has been my dream!

Happy to have you feature on Playboy! Can you give us a bit of a background on your career as a model and where it all started? It is such an accomplishment to be featured in this edition of Playboy. Growing up it was a big dream of mine to be published in the magazine, my whole life I have wanted to make it happen and I am beyond excited to finally have the chance to make it a reality. I have recently got back into modeling, and I've realized that being a part of a shoot and bringing to life my vision is truly my passion. I believe it really brings you happiness when you do what you love.

What are some of your best career highlights so far? Being in Playboy is my biggest achievement in modeling. It is the most iconic magazine in history, and I am so thrilled to finally be able to be a part of it! When I was preparing for the shoot, I knew straight away I wanted to go for the classic glamorous look. I am forever loving Marilyn Monroe she is such an icon. I have met some amazing photographers since shooting again and I am also currently working with social ikon, I am so excited for what is to come for 2022.

Can you give us a breakdown of a typical day in the life of a glamourous model on set? On a day I will be shooting I make sure I am fully prepared I have all my outfits, props, shoes, accessories everything a girl could need ready to go. I style myself depending on the theme, or what is desired. I style my own hair and do my own makeup. Depending on the location and time of the shoot I will usually begin travel in the morning, and finish getting ready and dressed once I've arrived. A typical shoot will last around 4 hours, there will be outfit changes, different decisions, and concepts to be made on looks and settings. However, I never leave to go for a photoshoot without a pack of biscuits, they always get me through the day I have a definite sweet tooth. Once I am finished shooting I like to get a nice meal and relax.

What are some of the biggest misconceptions people have about what you do? I have to say being on social media and posting my work I have so many people that make assumptions about me and my life, by just looking at my images. I always believe you should never judge a book by its cover and if by me doing what I love and expressing my creativity visually makes others judge me, then I let it be. People are surprised I have lived a life with such highs and deep lows, but other judgments will not stop me from working on myself and my goals.

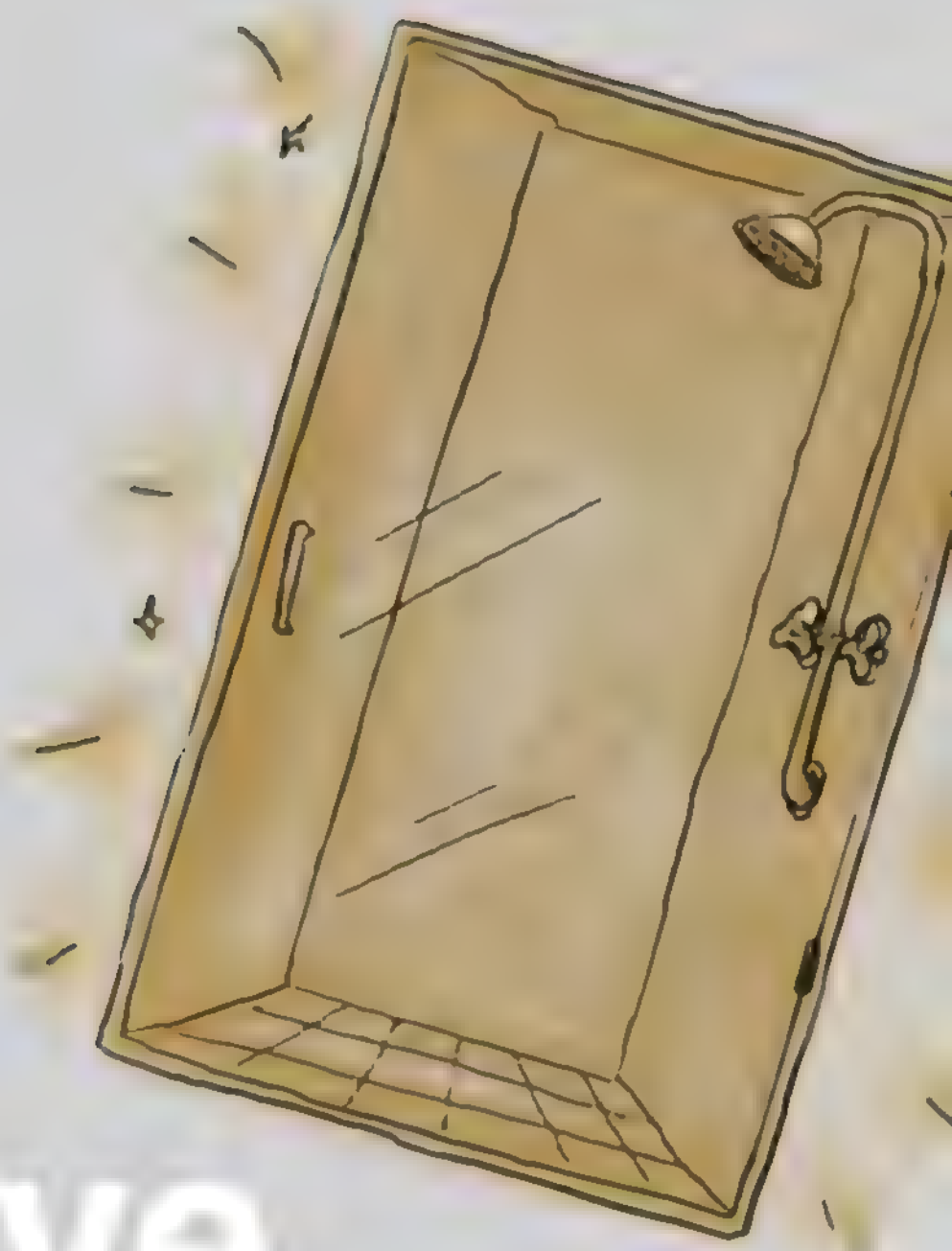
Given that you're a stunning woman who undoubtedly gets a lot of attention, what are some of the nicest things men have done to try and get your attention? I have been offered luxurious gifts, in the past, I had surprisingly been delivered bundles of red roses to my workplace.

What makes you feel absolutely sexy? A pair of stunning heels, I don't think you can possibly go wrong with a pair of Louboutin's. I would say a lace lingerie set and some sweet perfume.

3 things that you can't go a day without? A cup of tea, food of course and my phone.

Where can our readers find out more about you and stay updated with your current events and adventures? You can follow my journey through my Instagram @leahspeake where I document all my experiences. However, with my make-up business, I will be focusing on in the new year I may possibly be venturing out on other platforms.

Thank you so much for sitting down with us and letting us get to know you! Any last words for our readers out there? Playboy has been my most exciting achievement career-wise and I am absolutely honored to be featured in the SA edition. My words to the readers would be to always believe in yourself and never give up on your dreams and passions. I did many times, but it is never too late to achieve your goals.



Kinks I've Misconstrued

misunderstandings

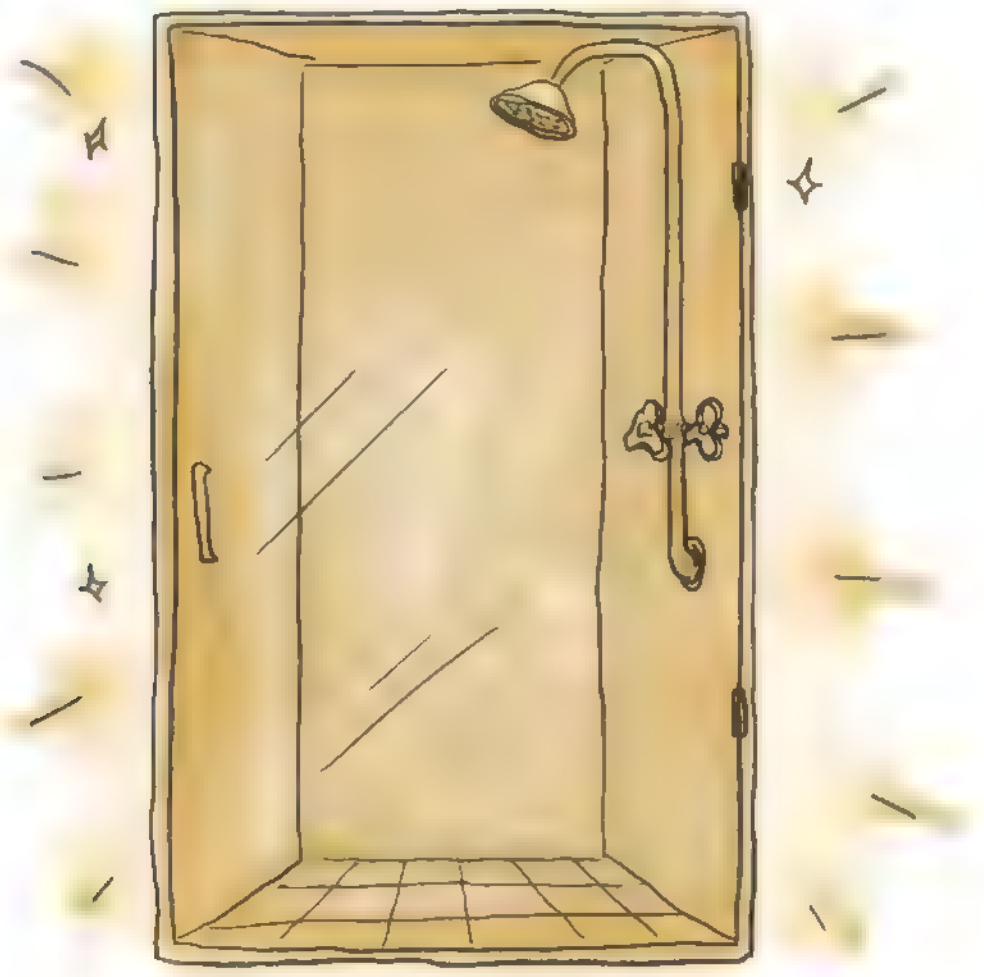
ILLUSTRATIONS BY
NATALIE DUPILLE

BDSM:

a nice, perfectly work-appropriate text acronym

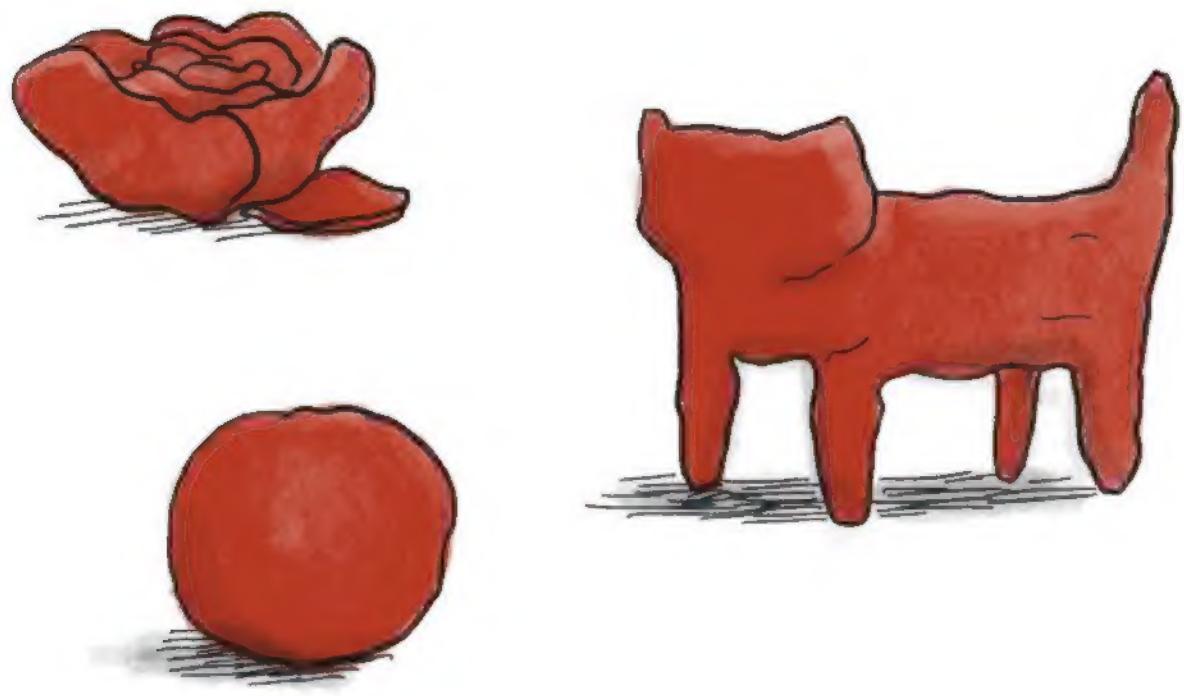
GOLDEN SHOWERS:

gilded bathing chambers that I will never be able to afford



WAX PLAY:

the sculpting of discarded Babybel cheese casings

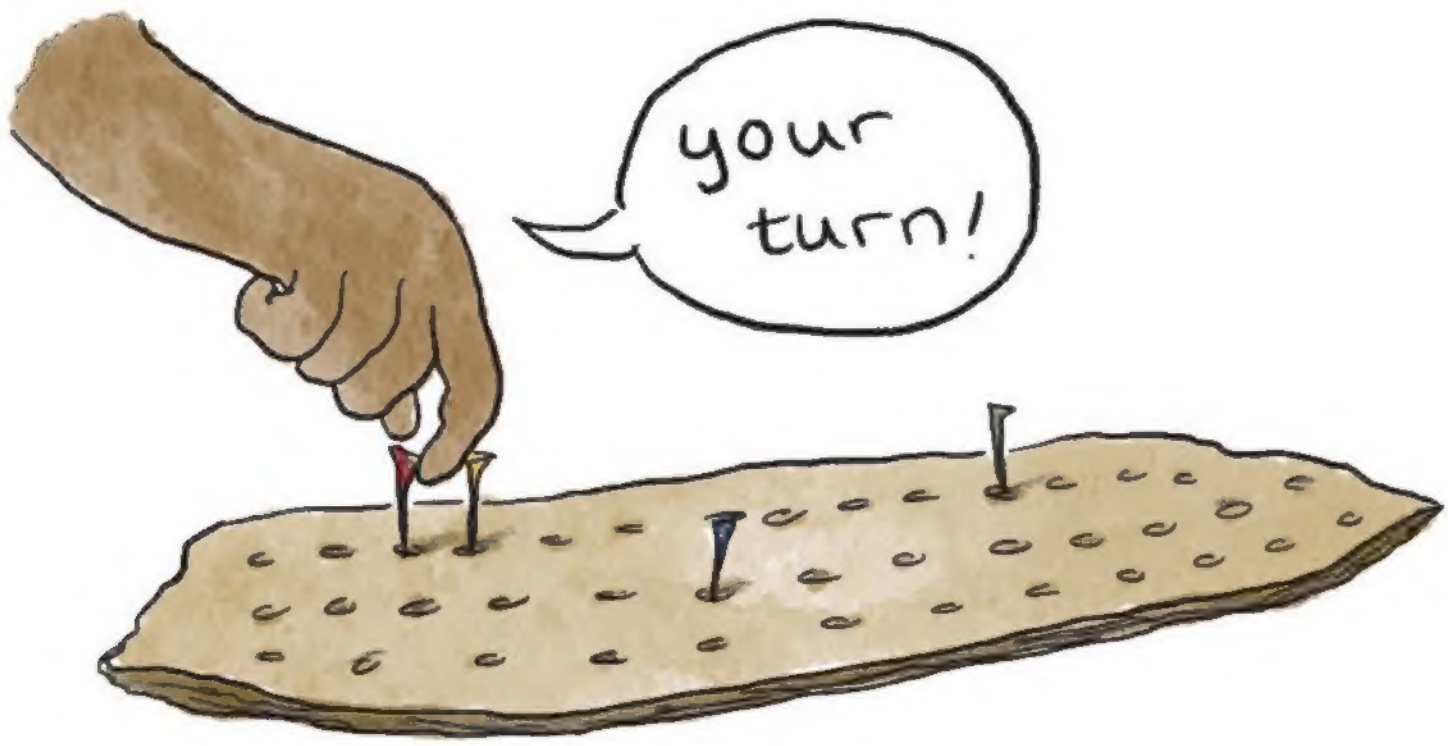


COCK WORSHIP:

a religion of fowl devotees

PEGGING:

a fun, cribbage-like board game activity



SPELUNKING:

not a kink, but really sounds like it should be one.

TURN IT UP.

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